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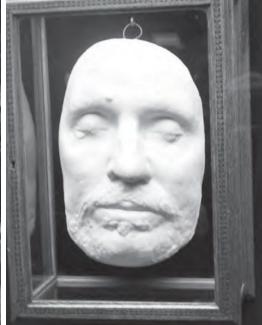
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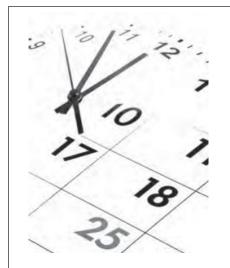




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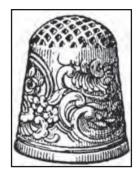
THIMBLES

himbles, as we know them, are shallow, dimpled, rigid domes worn on thumbs or fingers to protect sewers from needle pricks. But they were not always so. The earliest known one, found in a tomb dating to China's Han Dynasty (202 BC -220 AD), was shaped like a simple ring, without a top. (Tailors today often use similar ones.) Thimbles were also discovered in the ruins of Pompeii and in ash pits dating to Britain's Roman Period.

From the 9th through the 12th centuries, cast or hammered-sheet metal thimbles were likely used by leather workers or carpet-makers, across Asia Minor. Returning Crusaders may have re-introduced them to Europe. Thimbles were not widely used in Britain, however, until the 1300s, when nuns, amateur needlewomen, and professionals adorned royal and ecclesiastical fabrics with rich embroidered and thread embellishments. Because there were no large brass-work industries there at the time, many, some beehive-shaped, were imported from the Continent.

Around 1500, metal smiths in Nuremburg, Germany, a major brass-working area, created malleable, zinc-based sheets, which they easily hammered, hand-pitted, and polished. Over time, their thimbles grew longer, allowing inscription of dates, maker marks, mottos, and motifs. By the 1600s, many, featuring waffle or ring-shaped indentations, were also used as love tokens.

With the rise of Britain's brass-making industry a century later, John Lofting patented a horse-powered thimble-making machine with



Gold thimble, c1750, in the collection of the National Museum of Denmark. This drawing is from Salmonsens konversationsleksikon (1915-1930). Public domain



Sterling silver, dimpled thimble with decorative band. Public domain

knurled indentations, those produced by lathes. When he switched to more efficient water power, production topped over two million units a year.

By the mid 1700s, the thimble industry was so lucrative that the

CUP PLATE

In the days when a tea drinker poured hot tea from the teacup into the saucer to cool and then drank from the saucer, the cup plate was created as a place to rest the teacup. Popular from the 1820s to the 1850s, the cup plate was developed to protect the tablecloth and table from teacup rings. While there is little recorded about the social rules for using cup plates, it appears that they were used in middle class or rural homes and were more common in the United States than in other countries. According to some household management books, there was one cup plate in each place setting on the table.

Cup plates were manufactured with a variety of intricate designs. Collectors have divided them into "historicals" and "conventionals". Historical designs included busts of famous people, such as George Washington, Henry Clay, and William Henry Harrison. Sometimes sold as souvenirs, designs showed events from the 1830s and 1840s, including Queen Victoria's coronation, Bunker Hill Monument's completion, and political campaigns. Designs also included American images of log cabins, ships, or eagles. Conventionals showed designs ranging from the geometric to complex lacy patterns.

The first cup plates in the early 1820s were made of ceramics and produced by European potteries, usually for export to the United



Henry Clay Cup Plate, 1832-1852

States. Early cup plates were of ceramic or blown glass, but the majority were created when pressed glass was developed. Most glass cup plates were made in the United States; however, cup plates were also manufactured in England, France, Germany, Belgium, and Bohemia. American pressed glass cup plates were produced in New England; the

Swedes supposedly sent spies to Britain to divine their secrets like the "deep drawing" process, which produced thimbles from thin sheet-metal discs. As production fell in Nuremburg, it rose in the Netherlands.

By the 1880s, stitchery had become a widespread passion. most women used Though mass-produced, workaday metal thimbles, others favored fragile, expensive mother-of-pearl, ivory, or tortoise shell ones, if only for show. Though silver thimbles with inscribed bases were popular too, needles often punctured them. The Dorcas thimble, which was created in 1884, remedied this by sandwiching layers of steel between two layers of silver.

After companies created special thimbles to commemorate London's 1851 Great Exhibition. collecting these simple sewing tools became a popular hobby. Rather than seek common stone, wood, bronze, steel, tin, or aluminum thimbles, some collectors prefer ones featuring particular shapes, motifs, or styles. Others seek Norse, Turkish, Greek, Thai, Iragi-marshland thimbles. Serious collectors often favor the more rare scrimshawed whalebone, horn, vegetable ivory, porcelain, English bone china, or keepsake gold thimbles set with moonstones, cinnabar, diamonds, rubies, or sapphires. People who collect thimbles are called digitabulists.

Over time, the humble thimble has become an integral part of our culture. Perhaps it once measured ale, brandy, or ginger wine, leading to phrases like "a thimbleful of talent" or "a thimbleful of common sense". And of course, the thimble has been a favorite Monopoly token since 1935. Hm

— Melody Amsel-Arieli

Philadelphia-Baltimore-New Jersey area; and the Midwest, centered on Pittsburgh.

Using a machine to press cup plates allowed for standardization and inexpensive creation. The glass press was developed by Americans in the mid-1820s and improved quickly throughout the decade. While early cup plates were thick, they became thinner by the 1830s and 1840s as the technology for glass pressing was improved. With a diameter of between approximately 2.5 and 4.25 inches, pressed glass cup plates were most commonly made of clear glass, but were also found in colored glass, including amber, violet, blue, green, white, dark red, yellow, or gray.

To manufacture a cup plate, a worker moved the glass press near the furnace and carried hot glass to the press with an iron rod. The hot glass was placed onto the cast-iron mold and a plunger pressed down to shape the cup plate. Cup plates were generally pressed upside down, so the pattern on the plunger shaped the bottom of the cup plate. Sometimes a cap-ring was attached to the base mold to form the cup plate's rim and keep a uniform thickness for each pressing. The mold was flipped over to release the cup plate, which was then cooled slowly in another furnace.

Cup plates first went out of use in the households of Eastern urban areas, remaining in use in rural areas into the 1850s and 1860s. Hm

— Barbara B. Strickland



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HM97



LAS VEGAS And the mob

ALAN W. PETRUCELLI VISITS THE FIRST-CLASS NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ORGANIZED CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT AND DISCOVERS THEY REVEAL (ALMOST) EVERYTHING

f you're going to get wiped out by the mob, you might as well be comfortable, at your girlfriend's swanky Beverly Hills home, relaxing on the living room sofa. Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel would have agreed. On 20 June 1947, as the lady-killer was reading the Los Angeles Times, a spray of bullets from a .30-caliber military M1 carbine were fired through a window.

The killer had an eye for a good shot. An autopsy revealed that two bullets entered the back of Bugsy's skull, exiting through an eye, causing the left eyeball to pop out and fly across the room. (Police later found the eyeball.) Four of the nine shots fired that night destroyed a white marble statue of Bacchus on a grand piano, and then lodged in a wall. The actual cause of death was a cerebral hemorrhage.

No one was charged with Bugsy's murder; the crime remains officially unsolved, though most people believe ex-mobster Eddie Cannizzaro, on request by Meyer Lansky, did the deadly deed. Or maybe Bugsy was killed because he skimmed \$6 million during his reign at Las Vegas' Flamingo Hotel. (Bugsy did not conceive the Flamingo Hotel, but took over the project from William Wilkerson, the publisher

The former federal building and US Post Office in downtown Las Vegas that now houses The Mob Museum. Built back in 1933, it was repurposed and restored back to its original look to make way for the Museum. The Mob Museum

of *The Hollywood Reporter*.) Or maybe he was killed in a mob war over control of California's sports betting wire service. Or maybe he was bumped off, at age 41, because he was involved in a love triangle with Virginia Hill and a Chicago mobster.

Some 65 years later, the legend and legacy of Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel still lives on. His story, as well as those of his gal pal Hill,





On 20 June 1947, as the lady-killer was reading the Los Angeles Times, a spray of bullets from a .30-caliber military M1 carbine were fired through a window. From the Collection of Alan W. Petrucelli Bugsy in the morgue; Jewish tradition calls for the deceased to have cotton placed over the eyes. From the Collection of Alan W. Petrucelli

FBI TEN MOST Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) - Murder (19 Counts), Conspiracy to Commit Murder; Conspiracy to Commit Extertion, Narcotics Distribution, Conspiracy to Commit Money Laundering; Extertion; Muney Laundering JAMES J. BULGER Enhanced in 2008 Thomas F. Bayter, Mark Shaoeton, Jimmy Bulger, James Joseph Bulger, James J. Balger, Jr., James Joseph Bulger, J om Harris, Tom Marshall, Ernest E. Beaudreau, Harold W. Evers, Robert William Harrion, "Whitev"



LEFT: After 16 years at large and 12 years on the FBI Ten Most Wanted Fugitives list, Bulger was arrested in Santa Monica, California, on 22 June 2011. From the Collection of Alan W. Petrucelli RIGHT. Virginia Hill was played by Annette Bening and her real-life husband Warren Beatty played Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel in the 1991 film Bugsy. From the Collection of Alan W. Petrucelli

and scores of other infamous monsters and mobsters — Al Capone, Charles "Lucky" Luciano, Frank "Lefty" Rosenthal, Meyer Lansky, John Gotti, Sam Giancana, Frank Costello, Anthony Spilotro, Albert Anastasia, Joseph Bonanno, Moe Dalitz and Whitey Bulger — is played out and on display in Las Vegas' renowned 30,000 square-foot National Museum of Organized Crime and Law Enforcement. The Mob Museum (as it is called, even by the employees, since the name is considered "too wordy") takes a bold, daring and sometimes disturbing look at some of the biggest, baddest names and the courageous lawmen who fought them. (Signage warns visitors just when the displays start getting really bloody . . . and really scary.)

Other kinds of mobs, tourists from all over the world, as well as law enforcement agents and organized crime figures and their family members (including Henry Hill, Frank Culotta, Andrew Di-Donato, Vinnie "The Animal" Ferrara, Tony Montana, Michael Franzese and Meyer Lansky II) have made the award-winning Mob Museum the largest museum dedicated to the story of the mob in the country... a most arresting visit that's as educational as it is entertaining. "We are dedicated to the contentious relationship between organized crime and law enforcement within the historical context of Las Vegas and the entire United States," says Jonathan Ullman, Executive Director and CEO of The Mob Museum, "We want to entertain and educate visitors. Many people may not know how rich the history of battling crime and law enforcement is in our country. We want everyone to know that crime still impacts us ... cyber crimes, wiretapping, money laundering, human trafficking, drug cartels and kidnapping."

This isn't a one-sided look at the Mob: Besides the baddies, there are displays and exhibits on the star lawmen including Harry Anslinger, Eliot Ness, Elmer Irey, J. Edgar Hoover, Thomas Dewey, Carey Estes Kefauver, Eunice Carter, The Honorable Donna Fitzsimmons and Rudy Giuliani.

BUGSY STARTED IT ALL

Las Vegas was a profitable playground for American organized crime in the 1950s; it's been reported that the Mob had about \$300 million invested in the city by 1962. Organized crime played a critical role in the growth of modern Las Vegas," explains Geoff Schumacher, the Museum's Director of Content. "In the 1930s, Las Vegas was still a small community. It had started as a railroad town fueled by gold and silver mining in other parts of Nevada, then saw a boost from the construction of Hoover Dam. During World War II, it had experienced significant growth thanks to military and industrial development, but after



A mix of authentic and replicated weapons used by Mobsters, as well as the evidence book the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department put together for the bombing of Frank "Lefty" Rosenthal's car at Tony Roma's restaurant. Jim Decker/The Mob Museum

the war, it wasn't clear what was next for Las Vegas. This is when key Mob figures recognized an opportunity to generate considerable income from building casinos here. The Mob had illegal gambling clubs all over the country, but they were under increasing pressure from government and law enforcement to shut them down. But in Las Vegas, the Mob knew they could operate legally, so that's where they shifted their investments. This all started with the Flamingo Hotel, built primarily by Bugsy Siegel. It opened in 1946, and continued with the Thunderbird, Desert Inn, Sands, Riviera and Stardust. At that time, mainstream corporations - Wall Street essentially - would not touch Las Vegas, so the Mob pretty much had the place to itself ... for a while."

THE MOB MUSEUM **MUSCLES IN**

It cost \$42 million to officially open the Museum which was developed by Dennis Barrie (cocreator of the International Spy Museum and the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame) and is governed by



Among some of the mobster's personal belongings is this pair of Bugy's sunglasses. From the Collection of Alan W. Petrucelli

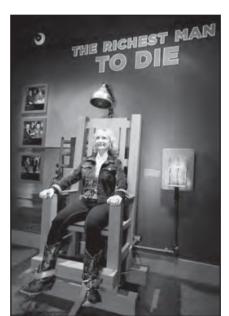
a non-profit board, headed by Ellen Knowlton, former FBI Special Agent in Charge, Las Vegas Division, and a 24-year FBI veteran.

Raising the millions wasn't as tough as a glare from Capone since the Museum met city requirements. It would be housed in the former Las Vegas Post Office and Courthouse, which was built in 1933 and is listed on the Nevada and National Registers of Historic Places, and that the buildings would be rehabbed for an acceptable purpose.

"We had to be true to the roots of the city and honor it. We also had to be something that abides by integrity - a world-class institution," explains Ullman, who adds that the Museum was given

nearly \$9 million in historic preservation grants - including federal, state and local. "We proved ourselves; the city gave us the green light and final approval came through the city council." Ullman says that the Museum has vowed to pay back \$6.2 million of the city's original investment, and is on track to do so. In three years, they have already paid back several million... in cash, in a suitcase!

The federal courtroom is a true highlight; this is the actual site of the Kefauver Committee hearing held on 15 November 1950. The hearings, officially the US Senate Special Committee to Investigate Crime in Interstate, were held to expose organized crime. Film clips from the hearing are supplemented by other footage, including rare glimpses of the defensive Virginia Hill. The courtroom was also the site of a number of trials over the years, at least a few of which had organized crime elements to them. (In March 1951, Time magazine reported on the committee's findings, stating that the committee had "turned up a sinister pattern of organized





LEFT: Sit in the replica of an early electric chair. It's not shocking, but makes a great photo op! The Mob Museum RIGHT: An interactive exhibit in which guests listen to actual government wiretap recordings of various Mobsters' phone conversations. Jeff Green/The Mob Museum

crime in the US" and evidence suggested that such crime is "not limited to any single community of any single state, but occurs all over the country.")

ASSORTED ARTIFACTS TAKE CENTER STAGE

There are more than 885 one-ofa-kind artifacts on display. The list boggles the mind. Among the customized jewelry are personal belongings like Bugsy's sunglasses in their original case. There's a replica of the famous wooden electric chair used at Sing-Sing (a great photo-op if you're willing to take a seat); Kosta Boda candlesticks bought at Bloomingdale's that FBI agent Robert Vaccaro used to beat mobster "Petey Chops" Vicini before a second undercover FBI agent, Jack Garcia, was fast enough to stop the stick from becoming a murder weapon. There are also scores of gadgets and gizmos that were successful in killing and maiming. Interactive touch screens and multi-media presentations take you thisclose to the mob without having to worry that you're on a hit list. You can listen to real FBI surveillance tapes and hear actual incriminating evidence on wiretapping equipment and take part in FBI weapons training. There are a number of ghastly and gory photos that are essential to the mob and its (mis)adventures, bloodsoaked reminders that crime



Robert Vaccaro used Kosta Boda candlesticks to beat "Petey Chops" Vicini; undercover FBI agent Jack Garcia was fast enough to stop the murder. From the Collection of Alan W. Petrucelli





One of several interactive exhibits within the Museum; guests have an opportunity to shoot a Tommy gun using this simulator. From the Collection of Alan W. Petrucelli (top); The Mob Museum (bottom).

never pays. There's even a nifty Hawaiian shirt that the late James Gandolfini wore as TV Mafioso Tony Soprano in *The Sopranos*.

An exhibit on illegal gambling focuses on the Black Book, a chronicle of the mob's scamming and skimming, the Gaming Control Board activities and Howard Hughes. There's a chance to try your hand (and eyesight) and "shoot" a simulated Tommy gun while target silhouettes keep you company. Another fascinating display: two race wires, created to provide quick, reliable information on horse races to bookmakers around the country. The wire services provided information on track conditions, jockeys, scratches, post times and other information that bettors and

bookies could benefit from knowing. There were two competing wire services - Continental, operated by Chicago gangster James Ragan, and Trans America, which was controlled by the Chicago Outfit (and, by extension, the national mob syndicate). Siegel's task was to convince Western bookmakers to subscribe to Trans America rather than Ragan's Continental service. It took him a while, but Siegel ultimately gained control of the race wires in California, Arizona and Nevada. However, Siegel decided he wanted the wire profits all to himself, angering syndicate bosses who expected to get their fair share. One theory behind his murder in 1947 is that it was a result of the battle over the race wire.

There's even a movie theater whose six-minute loop focuses on the men and the mobsters from the big screen, including The Godfather, Goodfellas, Casino, Donnie Brasco, Bugsy, American Gangster, White Heat, The Public Enemy, Scarface and Little Caesar.

THE MUSEUM'S STAR ATTRACTIONS

The Museum owns a large majority of the artifacts, obtained either through purchases or donations; a few are on loan for display for a set period of time.

The first signature attraction of the museum is on the third floor (where the self-guided tour begins) -- the actual brick wall from the St. Valentine's Day Massacre. (It's not a coincidence The Mob Museum officially opened on 14 February 2012.)

On 14 February 1929, Al Capone decided to eliminate those rivals associated with the Irish gangster George "Bugs" Moran, one of Capone's longtime enemies. In a garage on Chicago's North Side, seven of Moran's men were shot to death by several members of Capone's South Side Italian gang dressed as policemen. The crime was never officially linked to Capone, but he is generally considered to have been responsible for the murders.

What's as fascinating as seeing the actual wall (hidden behind

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Boston visitor Stephen J. Finn posing in front of the infamous brick wall against which seven of "Bugs" Moran's men were shot to death by several members of Al Capone's South Side Italian gang on 14 February 1929. From the Collection of Alan W. Petrucelli

Lucite) is learning how the Museum acquired it.

In 1967, 38 years after the Massacre, the building that included the wall was torn down and businessman George Patey of Vancouver, Canada, bought the bricks, still full of the shells and slugs fired. The bricks had been lettered and numbered by Patey, and throughout the next 42 years, the bricks were displayed in a variety of settings, including a restroom of a nightclub. In 2009, the Mob Museum bought the bricks, and through Patey's letter/number system, was able to accurately assemble the Wall in a manner very close to its original format. (Today, the wall stands 6 by 10 feet with 323 bricks on display and an additional 7 in storage.) Although some bricks were sold over the years, the bullet holes remain and have, at some point, been "enhanced" by red paint (no, it is not blood). Visitors can stick their fingers through holes in the Lucite and feel the entrance of bullets!

Every few minutes, a movie screen descends, covers the Wall and documents the Massacre in a short film, complete with actual footage and photos of the bloody mess.

Keeping the wall company is a .38 caliber Colt Detective special revolver that was recovered at the Massacre. It is the only revolver directly related to the shooting that is legally in private ownership. The gun is believed to have been owned by Frank Gusenberg, top gunman for the Moran gang, and is thought to have been in his overcoat pocket during the Massacre. After the shooting ceased, he reportedly crawled to the door for help, during which time the revolver fell out of his coat pocket.

Star attraction No. 2: A turquoise hotel barber chair in which Albert Anastasia was



On 25 October 1957, Anastasia entered the barber shop at Manhattan's Park Sheraton, ready for a haircut, Instead. his driver parked the car in an underground garage and took a walk outside, leaving Anastasia unprotected and ready to be cut down. From the Collection of Alan W. Petrucelli



This is the actual chair in which Anastasia sat, on display at The Mob Museum. From the Collection of Alan W. Petrucelli

murdered on 25 October 1957. His bodyguard left him, a perfect time for someone to murder the man known as "Lord High Executioner". At the time, Anastasia was boss of the Gambino crime family, which operated a gang of hit men and contract killers known as Murder, Inc. Like most of the several hundred people killed by Murder, Inc., the murder of Anastasia was never solved.

THE MOB AND **TODAY'S VEGAS:** WHAT ARE THE ODDS?

Does the Mob still have ties to Sin City? "Yes and no," explains Schumacher. "The resorts on the Las Vegas Strip are owned and operated today by either rich individuals, such as Steve Wynn and Sheldon Adelson, or huge

corporations like MGM, Caesars and Boyd. The scale of development has far surpassed the means of traditional organized crime. However, it would be naïve to believe that the Mob has completely abandoned Las Vegas. It's likely that Mob families and organizations have financial interests in certain aspects of the Las Vegas cash economy. Also, we know that transnational organized crime groups are active in Las Vegas, just as they are in other large American cities. Human trafficking is a significant problem in Las Vegas, and international groups are behind it."

THE MUSEUM'S **WANTED LIST**

Schumacher wants what he calls "one of the best sets of artifacts



A variety of children's toys used as a government marketing plan to dissuade kids from getting involved in organized crime later in life. Jeff Green/The Mob Museum

out there: two of the Tommy guns used in the St. Valentine's Day Massacre. These guns are in the possession of the sheriff's department in Berrien County, Michigan."

Ullmann and Schumacher wish for the same thing: A photograph of Bugsy Siegel actually in Las Vegas. Both call it "something of a holy grail for Las Vegas historians, and it may not actually exist."

The Museum has also offered an open invitation to Siegel's daughter, Millicent, who has lived in Las Vegas for a number of years. But she has never accepted the offer. Yet.

THE MUSEUM MOVES ON

The Museum is always expanding and changing. They frequently host "Courtroom Conversations" and "Inside Stories" and book signings by crime journalists.

The Museum now offers weddings; officiates able to perform weddings include former Mayor of the City of Las Vegas, Oscar B. Goodman, the visionary behind the creation of the Museum. He made a name for himself while serving as legal counsel for reputed mobsters such as Meyer Lansky, Frank "Lefty" Rosenthal and Anthony Spilotro. Also available to officiate weddings is former leader of the "Hole in the Wall Gang" and Chicago Outfit enforcer, Frank Cullotta. Later in life, he gave evidence against his friend Tony "The Ant" Spilotro.

Couples can opt for "Sleeping with the Mob", the ultimate Mob Museum wedding experience. This overnight package begins with a wedding ceremony in the historic courtroom at 8 p.m., followed by appetizers and cocktails. It concludes at 9 a.m. the next day with continental breakfast. In-between, the wedding party and guests will enjoy a courtroom screening of "Casino",





TOP: Line up for a souvenir photo if your wedding is held at The Mob Museum. The Mob Museum BOTTOM: The courtroom where one of the 14 National hearings to expose organized crime to America took place in 1950-51. In Las Vegas, the hearing was held on 15 November 1950. Jeff Green/The Mob Museum

a midnight Museum Scavenger Hunt, a courtroom slumber party for up to 50 guests and a souvenir lineup photo.

A shotgun wedding is promised . . . not to happen. \mathcal{H}_m

ALAN W. PETRUCELLI loves

mobsters and movie stars.

His newest book is Morbid

Curiosity: The Disturbing

Demises of the Famous and

Infamous. This is his first piece

for History Magazine.

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Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel: The Gangster, the Flamingo, and the Making of Modern Las Vegas (Praeger)

The Las Vegas Chronicles: The Inside Story of Sin City, Celebrities, Special Players and Fascinating Casino Owners (Scotline Press)

When the Mob Ran Vegas: Stories of Money, Mayhem and Murders (MJF Books)

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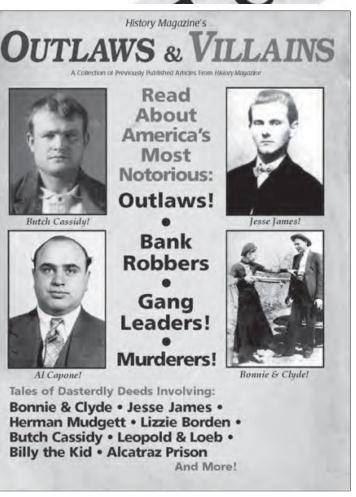
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WOLVES FOR THE BLUE 1865-1890

ARNOLD BLUMBERG LOOKS AT THE LONG HISTORY OF INDIAN SCOUTS AND AUXILIARIES WHO FOUGHT WITH THE UNITED STATES ARMY

he employment of Indian scout units in the post-Civil War era was part of a long tradition. New England colonists employed the Mohegans in their wars against the Pequots in the 1630s and during King Philip's War (1675-78). During the French and Indian War (1754-63), British and French used Indians to augment their scanty numbers of European troops. The practice continued during the American Revolution, as well as in the contest between the newly independent United States and the Indians of the Northwest. In the War of 1812, the English enlisted the Shawnee and Creek. In turn, the Americans used Choctaws, Cherokee and Creeks to counter the pro-British Indian menace. In the 19th century, the trend continued: the Seminole Wars (1816-1858) saw the US Army using Creeks; in the Northwest, Warm Spring Indian Scouts in the field 1872-1873, photo by Eadweard Muybridge (1830-1904). Public domain, from the Photography Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, New York, NY

the Nez Perce helped the Army; while the Pueblos served against the Navajos of New Mexico and the Jicarilla Apache of southern Colorado. In the late 1850s, the US military hunted the Comanche in Kansas and Oklahoma with warriors from the Tonkawa and Shawnee tribes.

The military use of Indians was at the sole discretion of the officer in charge of the operation, but the advent of the Civil War would change the intermittent and hesitant pattern of cooperation between the Indians and the US Army.

Taking up the defense of the West during the Civil War were volunteer forces commanded, for the most part, by officers as ignorant of the military profession as their newly-raised and ill-trained recruits. These ad-hoc units, normally composed of local frontier militia, needed experienced scouts and guides to aid them in mastering the conditions of Indian campaigning. As a result, the Civil War years saw a new emphasis on the use of Indian allies.

The first serious outbreak of Indian trouble occurred with the escalating tension with the Navajos and Apaches in the Southwest. The Army's response was increased recruitment of Indians to counter the threat from these hostile tribes. The military's drive against the Indians was led by the ruthless, capable and experienced Brigadier General James H. Carlton, and seconded by the old scout and frontiersman Christopher "Kit" Carson. After subduing the Mescalero Apache, Carlton crushed the resistance offered by the Navajos, using large numbers of Ute Indians, first as scouts, then as active combatants.

In 1864, Carlton turned his attention to the Comanche and Kiowa who menaced the Santa Fe Trail, the Army's main line of communication to the Eastern United States. With the aid of Ute and Jicarilla Apache, he campaigned against the Kiowa in Texas. The result was a stalemate, but credit was given to his Indian scouts for their performance in finding and fighting the enemy. In the meantime, in Arizona Territory, which was being ravaged by the Apache, Carlton strengthened the white defenders there with friendly contingents of Paggo, Pima, and Maricopa Indian volunteers.

On the Great Plains of western Minnesota and the Colorado territory, and in Nebraska and Kansas, the war years saw a dramatic rise in Sioux and Cheyenne depredations against white settlements and immigrant travelers. Bloody battles between the Army and the Sioux in Minnesota and the Dakotas were fought between 1862 and 1864. Regular US Army officers such as Brigadier General Alfred Sully conducted a number of campaigns against the Sioux and their allies in the Dakotas during this time. Although these efforts were less than decisive, experienced soldiers admitted the necessity of including Native Americans in any punitive expeditionary force.

When the responsibility for securing the American West returned to the hands of the Regular Army in 1866, the integration of Indians into the US military establishment continued. The old practice of employing Indians on occasional hitor-miss fashion changed. Instead, the US Government made Indian scouts, in theory, regular soldiers, with their employment guided by proportionality of need.

This regularization of Indian scouts as part of the US military started with the Army Reorganization Act of 1866. Indian scouts were to

receive regular Army pay of \$13.00 a month, and equipped as cavalrymen; but they were regarded as soldiers only in a temporary or provisional sense. The Act had the further advantage of keeping the cost of the newly formed 54,000 man US Army down by providing it with a body of fighters (the Indian scouts) which would not only add to the effectiveness of the regular force, but could be terminated at will.

The Army's reception to the new protocol was mixed. In the Department of Columbia (Oregon, Washington, and Idaho), the military commanders baulked at the enlistment of 100 Indian scouts to operate independently of the Army; but this proved to be an imaginary problem since, during their existence from 1866-67, the Indians worked in conjunction with the regular forces under Lieutenant Colonel George Crook.



Observation by soldiers and Indian Scouts before the Battle of Big Dry Wash, 1882. Public domain, Wikimedia Commons, picture created before 1923

As the Indian troubles increased in the late 1860s, more and more Army district leaders turned to Indians as reliable allies in the fight against "hostiles". Colonel Philip Regis de Trobriand, head of the district along the upper Missouri River in Dakota Territory in May 1868, recruited warriors of the "Three Tribes" (Arikara, Mandan and Hidatsa) to combat the Sioux. Although examples of American-Indian cooperation, like those forged by Crook and de Trobriand,

proved their worth, the scout detachments did not turn out to be the equivalent of British or French "irregular" or "native" cavalry found in those nation's colonies. The Indian scouts (about 700 authorized, and hundreds more informally enlisted by local field commanders by 1877) continued to be temporary collections of Indians mustered in for a particular need, and dispensed with when their services were no longer required. This lack of continuity was accentuated by the fact that the scout officers were on temporary assignment from regular cavalry and infantry regiments. Under those conditions, no battle ready permanent Indian formations attached to the Army were possible to maintain.

From the passage of the Act of 1866 on, the role of Indian scouts expanded in proportion to that of the rest of the US Frontier Army. However, the universal agreement of the usefulness of the scouts did not conceal serious differences of opinion on the actual role these auxiliaries should play on campaigns and in combat. Officers like Brigadier General August Kautz opinioned that one Indian scout company was of more value than six regular white cavalry companies. Kautz's judgment was based on the fact that the small size of the Regular Army in the West, and its inexperience in fighting Indians, magnified the need for Indian allies and their expertise. On the other hand, combat hardened officers such as Lieutenant David McDonald, leading an all-Indian detachment against the Apache in 1882, recorded his distrust of his command after he barely survived an Indian ambush. McDonald suspected not only the reliability of the Indians he led, but also their bravery in the face of the enemy. He was particularly critical of their tracking skills. A highly successful

Indian fighter like General George Crook, who used Indian auxiliaries extensively, and, when possible, Indians from the same tribe he was fighting, questioned the honesty of Indian scouts. He stated that, "you cannot always be sure that an Indian is telling you the truth. But if you make it to the Indian's interest to tell the truth, you get correct information".

American military men were also divided on the effectiveness of Indians in combat. To many, the courage and discipline of the scouts was poor since they rarely displayed that measure of obedience and unquestioning self-sacrifice demanded and expected from Regulars. Lieutenant Powhatan Clarke, serving in Arizona in 1890, noted that Indian scouts felt standing up and letting one be shot at was a sign of insanity. The report of the Inspector General's Office dealing with Indian scouts in the Department of Arizona in 1877 reflected what many frontier Army officers felt when it stated that "...they [Indians] make good and efficient soldiers when they act with white troops – alone they are not reliable..."

The use, and need, for Indian scouts also struck a racial nerve in the Army. Lieutenant General Philip H. Sheridan, commander of the Department of the Missouri, spoke for many officers when he declared that although scouts were of great value, "Soldiers should

possess the attributes of civilized men... They [Indians] do not possess stability or tenacity of purpose".

Pride was another factor in the attitude of many army officers toward Indian scouts. Allowing them to fight alongside the military might come to be interpreted to mean that regular white troops were not up to the job of combating "hostiles" without the aid of Indians. This could lead to a decline in army morale and effectiveness according to Lieutenant General William T. Sherman, head of the Western Department just after the Civil War. In 1881, he wrote on the subject of letting Indian scouts join in combat with their white comrades. To Sherman, scouts should be restricted to scouting, leaving the actual fighting to the white troops because "The morale effect will be bad if we have to get Indians to whip Indians".

The primary responsibility of Indian scouts was to find the enemy. In a vast country, one had to locate relatively small numbers of fast moving enemy. Reconnaissance under frontier conditions assumed a special importance requiring particular skill. The opponent's location, numbers, and intentions were all vital intelligence. The Indians understood the value of scouting. The Plains Indians used the word "wolf" to denote both a scout as well as the animal. Crow Indians compared the scout with the wolf because to them "A scout was like a lone wolf that must be looking, looking, looking, all the time".

Following the trail of an enemy, i.e., tracking, was a skill Indian boys learned at a young age while training for war and the hunt. It included the ability to estimate numbers, to reckon how long a party had passed a particular spot, determine the make-up of the group being pursued, and allowed for the stealthy approach of the soldiers in preparation for an attack. A good example of these points is found in Crook's November 1876 Powder River Country Campaign in Wyoming at the Battle of Dull Knife Fight.

Employing 1,500 regular army infantry and cavalry, and 360 Indians, the Bluecoats were informed by their Indian scouts of a large Cheyenne village on the Red Fork of the Powder River. The Army column was guided through narrow and difficult canyons during a grueling night approach march by the scouts while other Indians kept watch on the Indian campsite, neutralized the village guards, and relayed reports back to the advancing soldiers of the state of preparedness of the village. During the ensuing battle on the 25th, the scouts, who made up a third of the attacking force, rushed in and captured the encampment and then, with the rest of the command, engaged in an all-day gun battle with their adversaries until the Chevenne withdrew.

Most army officers agreed that scouts - like the Crows - were the equal to whites when it came to a firefight, especially when allowed to act individually. But they were also effective while fighting in other modes. At the engagement at Plum Creek on 17 August 1867 in Nebraska, 50 scouts from Major Frank North's Pawnee Scout battalion routed 150 opposing Cheyenne, killing 20 during a mounted charge



Apache Scouts at Ft. Apache, Arizona Territory, circa 1880s. Public domain



Photograph of White Swan in 1898, one of six Crow Scouts for George Armstrong Custer's 7th Cavalry in the 1876 campaign against the Sioux and Northern Cheyenne. Photo by Frank A. Rinehar. Public domain

across a bridge over Plum Creek. In hand-to-hand combat, the Crow and Shoshone were acknowledged as the best and bravest.

Officers in charge of Indian scouts had to make special efforts to cross cultural and language barriers in order to establish personal authority over their men. The white officer had to learn on the job, use good sense and his ability to adapt. He had to possess physical courage. Additionally, Indians rejected useless waste of life, and a leader who ignored this would lose the respect and confidence of his Indians, thus jeopardizing the unit's fighting ability. Conforming to the Indian way of war was a powerful means of connecting with the scouts. Following this precept, regulars like Crook "made his Indian auxiliaries,

not soldiers, but more formidable Indians." Further, a good officer of scouts, like Crook, consulted with and took advice from his scouts on matters of strategy and tactics.

Scout commanders were generally Regular US Army lieutenants and captains. Many were in their thirties or older due to slow promotion in the post-Civil War army. Charles B. Gatewood, one of the most experienced scout officers was a forty-three-year-old first lieutenant when he died in 1896. The prospect of acting independently and having responsibility beyond his lowly rank prompted many young officers to join scout units.

Not all white leaders of scouts were army officers. Civilian scouts and "chiefs of scouts" like Lieutenant Augustus Tassin, described as "some white dare-devil of a frontiersman of the Wild Bill genus" are prominent in accounts of Indian campaigns. He was a guide and interpreter. Their value was their knowledge of the country, expertise in tracking, and ability to communicate with the Indians. They advised the officer in charge and at times would command on their own.

During the Indian Wars of the 19th century, many Indian tribes contributed scouts to the US Army. The Apache, Shoshone, Arapahoe, and Sioux were among them, but the most outstanding was arguably the Pawnees due to their long and loyal service. The Pawnee Scouts sprung from the Pawnee tribe of central Kansas and northern Nebraska. Continually harried by their Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe neighbors, the Pawnee were driven into an uneasy relationship with the whites. In 1864, frustrated by its inability to combat the elusive nomadic tribes on the Great Plains, the Army enlisted a company of Pawnee, with Frank North as it's second in command, to act as guides and scouts. North soon raised his own Pawnee scout company. The 24-year-old native of Ohio had come to Nebraska in 1850 and his friendship with the Pawnee tribe was cemented by his genuine regard for them and his fluency in their language. Tall, thin, unassuming and likable, the asthmatic North was recognized by the Pawnees as a brave and talented war leader.

North enlisted two types of recruits: a group of warriors called "Boys" whose main occupation was the pursuit of war and adventure; the second were students taught at the Indian agency school. Credible service by the Pawnee in 1865-66 prompted the Army to allow North to enlist a four company battalion of Pawnee Scouts, giving North the rank of major. The 200-man unit

was officered by civilian scouts, including North's younger brother, Luther. During 1867, the battalion patrolled the line of the Union Pacific Transcontinental Railroad from central Nebraska to southeastern Wyoming, skirmishing with raiding parties and recovering stolen railroad property.

In 1869, the battalion under North joined Major Eugene Carr's expedition against the Cheyenne on the Republican River in southern Nebraska. The campaign reached its climax with the July 11th Battle of Summit Springs, Colorado near the South Platte River. After a mounted cavalry charge, with the Pawnee leading the assault, the Chevenne were defeated, their camp destroyed and 52 Indians killed. It was a blow the Southern Cheyenne never recovered from. For his part in the action at Summit Springs, Traveling Bear – one of the Pawnee Scouts – received the United States Congressional Medal of Honor.

The 1876 Sioux War saw North raise a 100-man Pawnee Scout Company. Under Crook, they did well at the Battle of Red Fork.

The record of Indian scouts in US service during the last third of the 19th century is impressive. Most of the 140 fights with "hostiles" in 1868 involved Indian scouts. In the 1870s, especially in the Apache campaigns, scouts were often the only troops engaged on the Army's side; on many occasions, only one white officer or civilian was present. Other times, less than a dozen Regulars and the same number of Indian scouts were involved; sometimes the scouts fought the enemy under their own leaders without any direction from whites. Of the ten engagements in 1882, seven involved Indian scouts while one involved only Indian auxiliaries. Three years later, eleven combats were reported, seven listed as including the participation of scouts, and four where scouts were the only force representing the Army. The 1885 Geronimo Campaign, when 5,000 US troops were employed, saw the scouts make a major contribution to the Army's victory over that storied Indian chief. Hm

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attorney residing in Baltimore, Maryland, is the author of "When Washington Burned: An Illustrated History of the War of 1812" (Casemate Publishers, 2012). A "Fellow by Courtesy" with the Classics Department of the John Hopkins University, he is a regular contributor to numerous military history journals and magazines.

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GILDER ROY, The bonnie boy

ERIC BRYAN RECOUNTS THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THE RENOWNED HIGHLAND HIGHWAYMAN

ilder Roy was born in Perthshire circa 1624 to a Scottish Highland family. His father died as he came of age and left him an estate of about 80 marks of annual income. Rejecting the counsel of his friends, Roy took over management and burnt through the estate in roughly a year and a half. He then lived off money from his mother until his extravagancies caused her to cut him off. In his desperation, Roy's rejoinder was to slit his mother's throat with a razor while she slept, loot the house, and set fire to it.

Roy became a wanted man in his native Highlands, so he escaped to France. In the Basilica of St. Denis, Paris, Roy attempted to rob Cardinal Richelieu during high Mass. He was spotted in the act by the king who was attending, and so he created a subterfuge on the spot, drawing the king into the "joke". Once the cardinal discovered he'd been robbed, the king went into hysterics, and Roy slyly returned the

money. (A variation of this story has Roy stealing a gold watch from a woman sitting near him, while drawing her suitor into the supposed harmless caper.)

Spain was next on Roy's itinerary. In Madrid, he disguised himself as a porter of the Duke of Medina-Celi, walked into the duke's house with some accomplices during a feast, and made off with a trunk, which contained valuable pieces of plate.

HOME TO THE HIGHLANDS

After spending about three years roaming, robbing and scamming on the Continent, Roy returned to Scotland and kitted himself out as a highwayman. He performed in this capacity with gusto, gathered a crew of like-minded bandits around him, and became feared throughout the country.

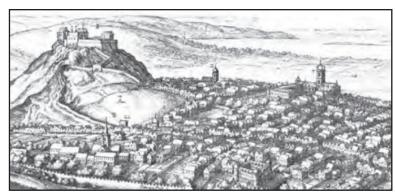
People grew reluctant to venture onto the roads unless they traveled in large groups. In areas such as Angus, Athol, Baquahan, Lochaber, Mar, Moray, and Sutherland, Roy used a two-pronged approach to generate income: He extorted protection tributes from the country people by promising their safety on the roads; in order to convince those disinclined to pay, he drove

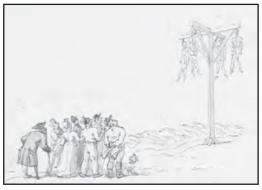






LEFT: A colored portrait of Gilder Roy in complete Highland outfit of kilt, sporran, sword and shield. Roy is holding a powder horn and stands beside a flowering thistle and a milestone noting 14 miles to Edinburgh. From the Walter Blaikie Collection in the National Galleries of Scotland MIDDLE: Juan Francisco de la Cerda, the 8th Duke of Medina-Celi. Roy reputedly stole a chest of valuable plate from Francisco's father, Antonio de la Cerda, the 7th Duke of Medina-Celi, in Madrid. Portrait by Claudio Coello. RIGHT: Cardinal Richelieu: Possible victim of Gilder Roy in the Basilica of St. Denis. Engraved portrait by Robert Nanteuil.





LEFT: A 1670 etching (detail) of Edinburgh by Wenceslas Hollar. Some of the buildings depicted were demolished in 1650 by Cromwell, so the etching was likely made from a pre-1650 drawing. On the common at the foot of Edinburgh Castle stands a four-point gibbet. RIGHT: "Crowd by a Gibbet" by Thomas Rowlandson. Tradition has it that Roy's band abducted and hanged a judge on such a four-point gibbet; remains of Roy's men swung from the gibbet's other three points, men whom the judge had condemned to die.

MACPHERSON'S FAREWELL: A HIGHWAYMAN'S SWAN SONG

James (or Jamie) MacPherson (1675-1700) was a Scottish outlaw, born of a Highland laird and a Gypsy or Tinker mother. Betrayed by one of his own men, the highwayman is said to have written MacPherson's Rant (or Lament), composing the tune and lyrics in Banff prison while condemned to death and awaiting his execution. According to Sir Walter Scott, on execution day, MacPherson played the song on his viol from beneath the gallows to the gathered crowd.

The following version was written by Robert Burns, partially based on the original. The final stanza refers to the supposed treachery of the Banff officials who, upon seeing a messenger in the distance, apparently carrying a pardon for MacPherson, pushed the church clock ahead 15 minutes in order to execute the outlaw before the rider could reach them.

Fareweel ye dungeons dark and strong Fareweel, fareweel to thee MacPherson's song will not be long Upon the gallows tree. Sae rantonly, sae wantonly, Sae dauntingly played he. He played a tune and he danced a-roon, Below the gallows tree.

It was by a woman's treacherous hand That I was condemned to die Below a ledge at a window she stood And a blanket she threw o'er me. Sae rantonly, sae wantonly, Sae dauntingly played he. He played a tune and he danced a-roon, Below the gallows tree.

The Laird o'Grand that Highland sant That first laid hand on me He played the cause on Peter Bron To let MacPherson dee. Sae rantonly, sae wantonly, Sae dauntingly played he. He played a tune and he danced a-roon, Below the gallows tree.

Untie these bands from off my hands And gie to me my sword An' there's no' a man in all Scotland But I'll brave him at a word. Sae rantonly, sae wantonly, Sae dauntingly played he. He played a tune and he danced a-roon, Below the gallows tree.

There's some come here to see me hang, And some to buy my fiddle But before that I do part wi' her I'll brak her thro' the mdidle Sae rantonly, sae wantonly, Sae dauntingly played he. He played a tune and he danced a-roon, Below the gallows tree.

He took the fiddle into both his hands And he broke ot o'er a stone Says, There's na ither hand sall play on thee When I am dead and gone Sae rantonly, sae wantonly, Sae dauntingly played he. He played a tune and he danced a-roon, Below the gallows tree.

O little did my mother think When first she cradled me That I would turn a rovin' boy And die on the gallows tree. Sae rantonly, sae wantonly, Sae dauntingly played he. He played a tune and he danced a-roon, Below the gallows tree.

The reprieve was comin' o'er the brig o' Banff To let MacPherson free; But they pit the clocka quarter fore And hanged him to the tree. Sae rantonly, sae wantonly, Sae dauntingly played he. He played a tune and he danced a-roon, Below the gallows tree.





LEFT: A depiction of Edinburgh High Street in the 18th century. The ominous bulk of the Tolbooth, where three of Roy's men were imprisoned, is at center-right. The railings above the windows at the end of the building surrounded the execution platform. Lithograph by W and A K Johnston, 1852. RIGHT: The Basilica of St. Denis, Paris, where Roy reportedly attempted to rob Cardinal Richelieu during high Mass. This lithograph by Félix Benoist shows the northern façade and apse.

off their cattle.

One of Roy's early highway victims was the Earl of Linlithgow. The "knight of the road" relieved the earl of a diamond ring, a gold watch, and eighty gold pieces. More high-profile prey came in the form of Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell sailed from Donaghadey, Ireland to Portpatrick, Scotland. Roy was prowling Galloway when he heard Cromwell had landed.

Gilder Roy, on his own, ambushed Cromwell and his two servants on the road to Glasgow. Cromwell, seeing the odds were in his favor, refused the highwayman's demands, and the opponents broke into a firefight for almost fifteen minutes. Roy then fled, and Cromwell's party pursued for nearly half an hour.

Roy turned about and shot Cromwell's horse from under him, breaking the rider's leg, and put a bullet through the skull of one of his servants. Roy reportedly sent Cromwell packing on an ass, with his legs tied against the beast's body. (Another version of this account replaces Cromwell with an anonymous "gentlemen", with a similar outcome.)

As his triumphs mounted, Roy grew more confident, and more depraved. Beyond highway robbery, Roy and his banditti began to murder those who resisted, and to set ablaze the homes of those who had slighted him.

THE BALLAD OF GILDER ROY

There are several versions of "The Ballad of Gilder Roy" which vary in the number of stanzas and details of language. Here follows a modernization of the ballad, which also leaves out several stanzas:

Gilderoy was a bonny boy, had roses on his shoon, His stockings made of the finest silk, his garter hanging down; It was a comely sight to see, he was so trim a boy, He was my joy and heart's delight - my handsome Gilderoy.

O such a charming eye he had, his breath sweet as a rose, He never wore a Highland plaid but costly silken clothes; He gained to love of ladies gay, and none to him were coy, Ah, woe is me! I mourn the day for my dear Gilderoy.

My Gilderoy, that love of thine, good faith! I'd freely bought, A wedding gown of Holland fine with silken flowers wrought; And he gave me a wedding ring, which I received with joy, No lads and lasses e'er could sing like me and Gilderoy.

While we together both did play, he kissed me o'er and o'er, Good day it was, as blithe a day as e'er I saw before; He filled my heart in every vein with love and mickle joy - But when shall I behold again my handsome Gilderoy.

'Tis pity a man should e'er be hanged for taking women's gear, Of for pilfering a sheep or calf, or stealing cow or mare; Had not our laws been made so strict I ne'er had lost my joy, Who was my dearest heart's delight - my handsome Gilderoy.

At Leith they took my Gilderoy, and there God wot, they tried him, They carried him to fair Edinburgh, and there God wot, they hanged him; They hanged him up above the rest, he was so trim a boy, My only love and heart's delight - my handsome Gilderoy.

Thus, having yielded up his breath, in a cypress he was laid, Then, for my dearest after death, a funeral I made; Above his grave a marble stone I fixed for my joy, Now I am left to weep alone for my handsome Gilderoy.

RUSTLING & RAIDING: The Border Reivers

By Eric Bryan

The warring between Scotland and England from the 13th to the 17th century created a state of chaos for those living in the Borders region. Armies gobbled up food and seized provisions as they marched through, decimating the resources of the Borders farmers. Troops sometimes burned people's homes and murdered the inhabitants.

Out of necessity, in order to support themselves and their families, many Borderers took up reiving. This was primarily cattle rustling, but could mean robbing in a general sense. This activity became a standard practice in the Borders, with reivers ranging from the poorest peasant to noblemen and crown officials. The reiver's code enforced allegiance to the clan; the possessions of anyone outside the family were fair game.

Reivers operated only at night, where they put their long familiarity with the greatly varied Borders terrain to expert use. They also favored fall and winter months for reiving due to the longer nights, the harvests having been finished, and the courts being in recess.

The reivers rode hardy, unshod ponies ideally suited to the Borders landscape, and wore a sort of do-it-yourself uniform. This consisted of a leather jack that was padded and could be fitted with plates of metal armor, and a sometimes peaked steel helmet. (The latter earned reivers the nickname "Steel Bonnets".) Reivers carried a sword, a dirk, a pike and a small shield. Some were equipped with a longbow or a light crossbow; they eventually replaced these weapons with pistols.

The Border Reivers sometimes acted as impromptu guerilla fighters during attacks or invasions. When King James VI of Scotland became King James I of England in 1603, he attempted to unite the countries. New laws prohibited Borderers from arming themselves, and limited the value of horses they could own to 50 shillings each.

As the Border Reivers began to lose their homes, lands, and livelihoods, some switched allegiances and joined the King; others emigrated to England, Ireland, and America. A handful remained and succeeded in living peacefully as farmers.

HANGING A JUDGE

Three of Roy's gang were eventually captured and imprisoned in Tolbooth, Edinburgh. The outlaws escaped, but were caught again and cast into Glasgow gaol. The men were hanged outside the city gates, their bodies left to rot where they swung on the gallows.

Gilder Roy swore retaliation, and he and his band exacted their revenge in the most direct mode: They set their sights on the judge who oversaw the proceedings of his fallen comrades and waylaid him in his coach on the road to Aberdeen. The brigands stripped and bound the coachman and two footmen and drowned them in a pond. They robbed the judge of all he carried, shredded the coach, and killed the four horses, which pulled it.

Roy's band abducted the judge to a wood, and tied him fast to a tree. Deep into the night, they carried the man to the gallows where the remains of Roy's men swung. This



The death mask of Oliver Cromwell at Warwick Castle. Cromwell was a supposed one-time victim of Gilder Roy. Both men died in 1658. Photo by Chris Nyborg.

was a four-point gallows, with an iron hook at each end to which a rope could be secured. The bandits threw a cord over the available hook, and hanged the judge then and there.

Roy wasn't satisfied with this act alone; he wanted the government

to know who the judge's hangman had been. To this end, he sent a letter to the ministers of state informing them of this fact. The judge's execution and Roy's letter propelled the legislature to investigate ways to crush Gilder Roy and his mob.

An attorney named Jennet pressed for a hang-first, judge-later law to be implemented against highwaymen. This unjust law was authorized supposedly unanimously by the government, and led to the hanging of highwaymen on the spot when captured, with trials sometimes held post-execution!

BETRAYAL

The government offered a one thousand mark reward for the seizure of Roy. One of Roy's mistresses, Margaret or Peg Cunningham, found the offer too tempting, and she betrayed the outlaw: The next time he visited her, fifty men encircled her house. When Roy

"GILDEROY"

Scottish poet Thomas Campbell (1777-1844), inspired by the original ballad, composed his own lines on Gilder Roy:

The last, the fatal hour is come, That bears my love from me: I hear the dead note of the drum, I mark the gallows' tree!

The bell has tolled; it shakes my heart: *The trumpet speaks thy name;* And must my Gilderoy depart To bear a death of shame?

No bosom trembles for thy doom, No mourner wipes a tear; The gallows' foot is all thy tomb, The sledge is all thy bier.

O Gilderoy! bethought we then So soon, so sad to part, When first in Roslin's lovely glen You triumphed o'er my heart?

Your locks they glittered to the sheen, Your hunter garb was trim; And graceful was the ribbon green That bound your manly limb!

Ah! little thought I to deplore Those limbs in fetters bound; Or hear, upon the scaffold floor, The midnight hammer sound.

Ye cruel, cruel, that combined The guiltless to pursue; My Gilderoy was ever kind, He could not injure you!

A long adieu! but where shall fly Thy widow all forlorn, When every mean and cruel eye Regards my woe with scorn?

Yes! they will mock thy widow's tears, And hate thine orphan boy; Alas! his infant beauty wears The form of Gilderoy.

Then will I seek the dreary mound That wraps thy mouldering clay, And weep and linger on the ground, And sigh my heart away.





LEFT: An old drover's road called the Thieves Road, in the Pentland Hills southwest of Edinburgh. It was so-named because the road became known for ambushes by reivers and bandits. Roy would have used such roads and tracks for many of his strikes and getaways. Photo courtesy of Chris Heaton RIGHT: The site of the Edinburgh Mercat Cross (market cross) where Gilder Roy was executed. Photo by Kim Traynor

realized who had informed on him, he raced into Margaret's bedchamber and murdered her with a knife.

When the men advanced, Roy fought like a mad devil, killing eight of them. But he was overcome, captured, and taken to Edinburgh Castle. They put him in chains and threw him into the dungeon, without food or water for three days. Then, deprived of a trial, he was dragged under heavy guard to Edinburgh's market cross, and hanged from a thirty-foot high gallows. Shortly thereafter, the authorities took down his body and chained it to a forty-foot high gibbet, between Edinburgh and Leith. This was April 1658, Gilder Roy was thirty-four years old, and he'd made no confession.

There is a romantic tradition telling of other adventures of Gilder Roy and that he came from the once-outlawed Clan Gregor. Soon after his death, a young woman, sympathetic to Roy, composed a ballad telling of his life's final chapter. The ballad became famous, and lamented Gilder Roy as "bonnie", "handsome", "dear", and "winsome".

This is a far cry from how Roy is described in Catalogue of English and American chapbooks and broadside ballads in Harvard College Library: "The wonderful life of Gilder Roy, a noted murderer, ravisher, incendiary, and highwayman." The details of the truth are buried in history. Hm

ERIC BRYAN is a freelance writer originally from Burlingame, California. His articles have appeared in many publications in North America and the UK.

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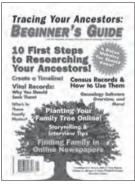
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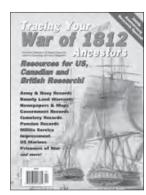
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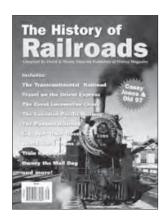


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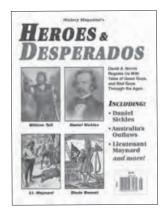
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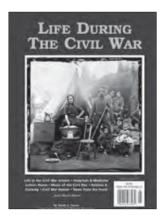
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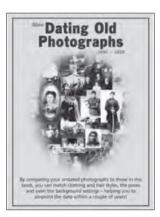
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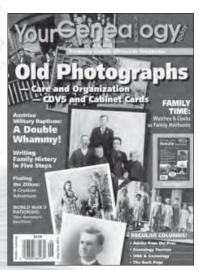
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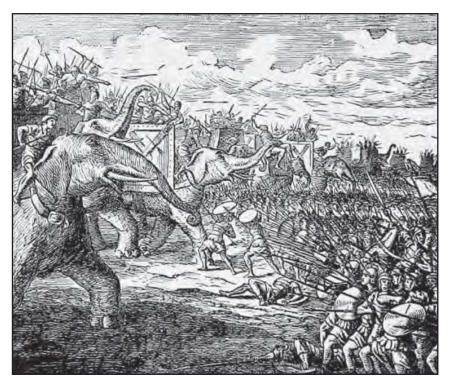
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CARTHAGINIAN CRISIS

DAVID A. NORRIS LOOKS AT HANNIBAL AND THE WAR THAT NEARLY ENDED ROME

'nspiring military minds from Napoleon Bonaparte to George S. Patton, the ancient Carthaginian commander Hannibal won for himself a permanent place among the greatest army commanders of history. Whether leading troops armed with swords, flintlocks, or squadrons of tanks, generations of generals have looked to Hannibal for inspiration, and dreamed of recreating his ancient military victories amid modern wars.

Hannibal was born in 247 BC in Carthage. This North African city, in what is now Tunisia, was the capital of a rising empire that clashed with Rome for control of the western Mediterranean Sea. The Roman name for the people of Carthage, Punici, came from

Phoenici, as Carthage had been founded centuries before by Phoenician settlers. Carthage and its allies held sway over a North African empire stretching over 1,500 miles from modern-day Libya in the east through Tunisia, northern Algeria, and Morocco, Hannibal's use of war elephants is well known. Carthaginian elephants, smaller than those shown in most old illustrations, were an extinct variety that once lived around the Atlas Mountains in North Africa.

and across the Straits of Gibraltar to include about half of modern Spain and some of Portugal.

Across the Mediterranean, the expansion of the Romans made them the main rivals of the Carthaginians. From a small citystate, Rome had grown to take up most of the Italian peninsula. Turning its ambitions to Sicily, Rome came into a fatal competition with Carthage, which was also trying to add the island to its empire. The clash over Sicily set off the First Punic War in 264 BC.

Rome and Carthage had much in common. Both were aggressive regimes that grew by conquering or forming alliances with neighboring lands. Neither was a monarchy; both were republics with legislative assemblies that elected leaders for temporary terms in office.

Hannibal's father, Hamilcar Barca, was a talented Carthaginian military commander. "Barca" meant "thunderbolt"; it's not known whether this was a nickname for the general, or if it was a family name. In the seventeenth year of the war with Rome, Hamilcar received command of the Carthaginian army in Sicily in 247 BC. He gained much ground in Sicily, but had to abandon the island when the Romans defeated the Carthaginian navy and won the war in 241 BC.

Hamilcar's army was allowed to return home from Sicily. Carthage was forced to submit crushingly large war reparations to Rome, and was unable to pay its soldiers. A mutiny by unpaid mercenaries flared into another war that Hamilcar won in 237 BC. Hamilcar's victory brought stability to

Carthage, which resumed profiting from its maritime trade. Soon, there was money enough to pay the Roman reparations and to build a new army.

Set between the two rival empires, Spain offered a source of wealth and potential recruits for Carthage. In 237 BC, Hamilcar led a new army into Spain, and brought with him his nine-year-old son, Hannibal.

Ancient sources tell us that at the age of nine, at his father's behest, the lad swore eternal hatred and opposition to the Romans. Not much else is known about Hannibal's early life.

Little remains of the written history and lore of the Punic civilization after the ravages of wars with Rome. What we know about Hannibal and his life comes mainly from Roman historians. His story comes filtered with attitudes of hatred toward a dangerous enemy, or at best, with grudging admiration for a worthy adversary.

In 229 BC, Hamilcar was killed and his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, took over the army in Spain. Hasdrubal was assassinated in 221 BC. After his death, the soldiers proclaimed Hannibal as their commander, and the government confirmed his appointment.

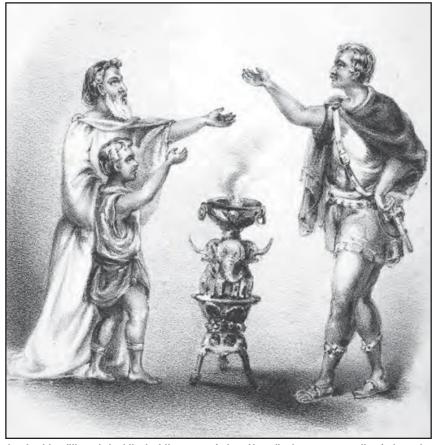
Under Hannibal, more and more of Spain fell to Carthage. In 219 BC, he captured Saguntum, a Spanish city under Roman protection. At this affront, Rome declared war, which began the Second Punic War. The brilliant commander's tactics and strategy would so dominate the conflict that the Romans would call it the Hannibalic War.

At this time, Rome did not keep a large standing army. Their legions were temporary units of about 4,200-4,800 men, recruited during emergencies and disbanded when a war was over. If a war lasted longer than one year, the troops were rotated out of service and replaced by a new draft. Soldiers were selected from the pool of men eligible for service. This depended not only on age, but economic status; the poor were exempt from most military obligations.

Carthage itself had only a small core of an army; most of its fighting strength came from its colonies and allies. Hannibal commanded Celtic-Iberian troops from Spain; Numidian nomads from the deep deserts of North Africa; Gauls; Italian enemies of Rome; and Greek mercenaries.

A major weapon in the Carthaginian arsenal was the war elephant. Their armies began using elephants in the early 3rd century BC. Earlier, Persian and Egyptian armies had used Indian elephants. Those of Carthage were a smaller, now-extinct species sometimes called the North African or forest elephant. At the time, North Africa was not as arid as it is now, and these elephants lived in forests in the Atlas Mountains. They stood about 8 feet high at the shoulder, compared to a potential 13-foot shoulder height of a modern African bush elephant.

Even the smaller war elephants were a fearsome sight, especially to troops that had never seen them. In practice, the elephant was something of a double-edged sword; if frightened enough, they were as likely to trample on



Ancient tradition stated that at the age of nine, Hannibal swore an oath of eternal opposition to Rome. Whether or not this tale was true, Hannibal was the most dangerous enemy faced by the Romans for several centuries.

soldiers of their own side as those of the enemy.

Instead of a seaborne attack, Hannibal gathered an army of 30,000 men and 37 war elephants to march overland across the Alps and descend upon Italy. One of the great mysteries of the ancient world is Hannibal's exact route over the Alps. Ancient writings do not give conclusive indications of which trails and passes they used to reach Italy, and no archaeological evidence has come to light.

In 218 BC, Hannibal was in northern Italy. In his first major clash on the peninsula, the Battle of Trebia, his elephants scattered the Roman cavalry by frightening their horses. Roman auxiliaries (troops drawn from allied lands) were also routed by the fearsome sight of the war elephants. Trebia ended as another victory for Hannibal.

All of the elephants came through the trek over the mountains, but after Trebia, only eight of them were alive. It's unclear whether the elephants were killed in the battle, or died from disease or exhaustion from their arduous journey.

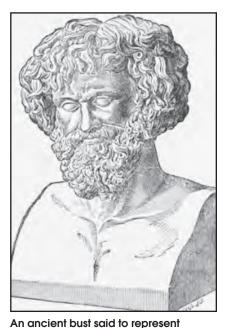
In 217 BC, Hannibal's troops appeared out of a heavy mist, and ambushed and destroyed a Roman army at the Battle of Lake Trasimene. Around this time, Hannibal lost an eye to an infection. His officers suggested he ride an elephant for protection, and for the high vantage point he would have of a battleground. By this time, only one elephant survived. Named Surus, descriptions indicate that he was an Indian



Hannibal once escaped a larger Roman army by tying torches to the horns of hundreds of captured oxen. The cattle were stampeded at night, luring the Romans away from Hannibal's intended escape route.

elephant, which is a larger species than those found in the Atlas Mountains.

After Trebia and Lake Trasimene, the Carthaginians re-equipped themselves with captured armor and weapons so much that they looked like Roman soldiers themselves.



Hannibal. Little is known of Hannibal's personal life, as the Romans obliterated most of Carthage's history and culture when they captured the city after the Third Punic War in 146 B.C.

Hannibal could also avoid battle with a clever ruse. Once he was trapped by a larger Roman army. The only way out was a road through a narrow mountain pass, and it was obvious that the Romans would wait for him there. Hannibal ordered his men to round up hundreds of captured oxen and tie torches to their horns. One night, the torches were lit and the cattle were stampeded along a narrow mountain path. Roman sentries spotted the constellation of bright torches flaring in the distance. Believing it was Hannibal's army, they abandoned their posts to go in pursuit. With the road clear, the Carthaginian army slipped away through the pass.

Roman legions were commanded by aristocratic civilian officials who were rotated in and out of military and government jobs. Consuls were usually allowed to command only part of an army. Romans feared a dictator gaining control of the military more than they did any enemy. Two Roman commanders, Lucius Aemilius Paulus and Gaius Terentius Varro, agreed to

combine their forces. Each would be in sole command for alternating 24-hour shifts. They commanded eight legions of about 5,000 men each.

The 216 BC Battle of Cannae would be one of the ancient world's most famous battles, and a scenario studied by military minds ever since.

In the battle, Hannibal ordered his center troops to pull back. Most sources put Varro in command, and record that he ordered a reckless drive against the enemy's retreating center. Part of Hannibal's infantry had not retreated, and they were sent to close in behind the Romans. Then, Hannibal's cavalry rushed in to complete the trap. The Romans, completely surrounded, were annihilated. Casualty totals are unknown, but it seems tens of thousands of Romans were killed. It was written that the Carthaginians scavenged the battlefield and filled bushel after bushel with valuable rings taken from their slain enemies.

Despite the catastrophe at Cannae, Rome continued the war. They raised new legions by purchasing slaves to serve in the army, accepting underage recruits, and releasing debtors and criminals from prisons. The consuls commanding the new armies avoided open battle, but harassed supply lines and worked to

prevent new allies from joining the Carthaginian invaders.

For sixteen years, Hannibal remained in Italy. Carthage sent only one draft of reinforcements and elephants from home, but some new troops came from the colonies in Spain and from Italian allies. Hannibal never could completely defeat the Romans, but they could not expel him from Italy.

Finally, a Roman commander tried another approach: cutting the ground from beneath Hannibal. A consul named Publius Cornelius Scipio was made a proconsul, which permitted him to stay in office for a longer period. Scipio used his extended time well. First, he captured the Carthaginian lands in Spain. Then, he went to North Africa to move directly against Carthage. To meet this threat to his homeland, Hannibal withdrew from Italy in 203 BC.

Scipio met Hannibal's army at Zama, in North Africa (now in northern Tunisia) in 202 BC. Hannibal outnumbered Scipio, and his force included a formidable contingent of 80 elephants. Unfortunately for Hannibal, the elephants were acquired only a short time before and there had been little time to train them. And, Scipio had plans to deal with the war elephants. When the battle opened, the Romans attacked by having their musicians blow every trumpet and horn in the army. The terrible din frightened some of the elephants, and they stampeded backward over and through the Carthaginian troops.

Instead of placing his foot soldiers in long ranks, Scipio deployed them in blocks. When the animals confronted the main Roman line, the smaller units of soldiers stepped aside and let them pass through the gaps until they were trapped deep in the



Hannibal crossed the Alps from Spain with an army and 37 war elephants to bring war to the Romans. His exact route over the mountains is unknown, and no archaeological traces of this phase of his career have been found.

Roman formations. This time, Hannibal's army was shattered and nearly all his troops were killed or captured.

Carthage no longer had an army, and they sued for peace, ending the war in 201 BC. Lauded as the hero who had saved Rome, the victorious Roman commander was given an honorary surname and is known to history as Scipio Africanus.

The winners imposed a harsh peace with heavy reparations. Hannibal became the civil leader of Carthage, and he managed affairs well enough to pay off the Roman reparations while bringing domestic prosperity.

Rome, worried that a revived Carthage would create another formidable army and navy, sought to make Hannibal a prisoner. The legendary commander fled Carthage forever. He found temporary refuge in Syria at the court of Antiochus III, but left when the eastern king prepared to turn him over to the Romans.

Next, the exiled general took refuge with King Prusias, the ruler of Bithynia in Asia Minor. Bithynia went to war with the kingdom of Pergamum, and Hannibal served as an admiral for Prusias.

Hannibal won a battle for the Bithynians, partly from a stratagem of filling big clay jars with snakes and catapulting them into the enemy ships.

But, fear of Rome induced Prusias to agree to turn his guest over to them.

Hannibal would never allow himself to fall into Roman hands. At Libyssa, on the Sea of Marmora (near Istanbul), he committed suicide, possibly with poison he



After Rome won the third and final of the Punic Wars, Carthage was conquered and demolished. Years later, another Carthage was built, but it was a Roman city.

had kept hidden in a ring for years against the arrival of such a day. The date is uncertain, although the Roman historian Livy put it as 183 BC - the same year as the death of the victor of Zama, Scipio Africanus.

Carthage itself was doomed. Small defeated countries were routinely absorbed into Rome's dominions, or allowed to continue as client states. But, Carthage was too powerful a threat to allow Rome to consider coexistence. The Roman statesman Cato the Elder famously ended all of his speeches in the Senate with the grim warning Carthago delenda est: "Carthage must be destroyed". The third and final Punic War began in 149 BC. Three years later, Carthage was defeated for the last time. Roman forces obliterated the city, razing its walls and buildings. Its people were slain, scattered, or sold into slavery. When Carthage appeared once again, it was many years later as a Roman city.

In a practical sense, Hannibal

never had enough troops to permanently conquer Rome. One cannot help but wonder, though, what today would be like if Hannibal had the support of a larger empire or had lured more allies away from the Romans. Perhaps Rome would now be only a small town known to ancient historians for its ruins and legends, and Europe's Renaissance would have been inspired by the classical mythology, language, and literature of Carthage. Hm

FURTHER READING

Terence Wise and Richard Hook, Armies of the Carthaginian Wars 265-146 B.C.

DAVID A. NORRIS is a regular contributor to History Magazine, Internet Genealogy and Your Genealogy Today. His most recent project for Moorshead Magazines Ltd. was Tracing Your Revolutionary War Ancestors, released 1 September 2015.



THE RED BARON

AVIATION WRITER DON HOLLWAY FLIES US ALONG WITH ONE OF THE FIRST, GREATEST, AND MOST FAMOUS OF ALL FIGHTER PILOTS

n air combat, death comes not just quickly, but often from a direction least expected. An October 1916 midair collision with one of his own men killed Germany's Ace of Aces, Captain Oswald Boelcke. At the funeral, young Lieutenant Manfred von Richthofen bore the hero's decorations on a black pillow, while planes of the British Royal Flying Corps — the enemy — dropped flowers from overhead. Boelcke, honored by friend and foe alike, had been not only young Manfred's leader, but also his mentor. This was World War I, and fledgling fighter pilots needed every edge to survive. "In the last six weeks, we have had out of twelve pilots, six dead and one wounded, while two have had a complete nervous collapse," he wrote home. "... The ill luck of all the others has not yet affected my nerves."

BORN HUNTER

He had learned iron-willed stoicism as a son of Silesian nobility, schooled in Prussian military tradition. (His family title, *Freiherr*, Free Lord, corresponds to baron.) Excelling at sports, especially riding and hunting, in 1911, he joined the cavalry, but when war came, he transferred to the air corps. "There is nothing finer for a young cavalry officer," he wrote, "than flying off on a hunt."

By then, Boelcke already had four kills. He confided to the young baron the secret of downing an enemy: "I fly in as close as I can, take good aim, shoot, and then he falls down."

"I had only one ambition," Manfred wrote, "and that was to fly a single-seat fighter plane." He was soon selected for Boelcke's *Jadgstaffel* (*Jasta*, fighter squadron). "We were all beginners; none of us had previously been credited

Baron Manfred von Richthofen's Albatros D.II face to face with British Maj. Lanoe Hawker's Airco DH.2: "The circles which we made around one another were so narrow that their diameter was probably no more than 250 or 300 feet. I had time to take a good look at my opponent. I looked down into his carriage and could see every movement of his head. If he had not had his cap on, I would have noticed what kind of a face he was making." Illustration by Don Hollway

with a success," he remembered. "Whatever Boelcke told us was taken as gospel. We knew that in the last few days, he had shot down at least an Englishman a day, and many times, two every morning."

FIRST BLOOD

In September 1916, they took delivery of sleek new Albatros biplane fighters, and the very next day, met British two-seaters over Cambrai. Von Richthofen chose a victim. "In a fraction of a second, I was sitting on his tail. I gave him a short burst from my machine gun. I was so close I was afraid I would ram him. Then, suddenly, his propeller turned no more. Hit! ...The engine was shot to pieces, and both crewmen were severely wounded."

That autumn, *Jasta* Boelcke mauled the Royal Flying Corps. The great ace raised his score to forty, and von Richthofen to six. As a hunter mounts the heads of his prey, he acquired a souvenir of each victim — a propeller, a machine gun, an insignia or serial number cut from the fuselage fabric — and ordered silver cups in memory.

DUEL IN THE SKY

Upon Boelcke's death, Manfred became the *Jasta*'s de facto leader. Like his mentor, he viewed air combat not as an art, but a science, preferring to avoid dogfights and, like a wolf stalking prey, pick off unwary victims. Yet







TOP: Rittmeister Manfred, the Freiherr von Richthofen, with the Blue Max at his throat. BOTTOM LEFT: Captain Oswald Boelcke, one of the most influential leaders and tacticians in the history of air combat. BOTTOM RIGHT: Known as the "English Boelcke", Maj. Lanoe Hawker, VC, DSO, had shot down seven German planes, including three in one day, before von Richthofen shot him down on 23 November 1916. Public domain

he proved his skill that November in single combat with an enemy ace. "I was soon acutely aware that I was not dealing with a beginner," he recalled. "The Englishman attempted to get behind me while I attempted to get behind him." Only about a hundred yards separated the two planes as they spiraled down on each other's tails. "My opponent waved to me quite cheerfully as we were at a thousand meters altitude as if to say, 'Well, well, how do you do?'"

But von Richthofen had an ally: the wind, which over the Front, typically blew from the west. It carried the two circling fighters far behind German trenches. "He finally had to decide whether to land on our side or fly back to his own lines," the Baron recalled. "...At about a hundred meters altitude, he tried to escape toward the Front.... I followed him from fifty down to thirty meters, firing steadily.... About fifty meters behind our lines he plunged down with a shot through the head."

Upon return to base, he learned his victim was no less than British squadron commander Maj. Lanoe Hawker, the "English Boelcke", with the Distinguished Service Order, Victoria Cross, and seven German kills. The Baron hung Hawker's gun over his door. "It was the most difficult battle I have had."

ACE OF ACES

By the beginning of 1917, he was Germany's high scorer, with sixteen victories, the Pour le Mérite — the "Blue Max" — and had his own command, Jagdstaffel 11. The Baron would find it a new kind of challenge: "Staffel 11 has been in existence as long as my old unit, only up to now, they have not shot down any of the enemy." He began by adding a dash of red to his Albatros for aerial identification. Not only friends, but foes

too, soon recognized it. "I know it quite well", a British prisoner told the baron. "We call it 'Le petit rouge (Little Red)".

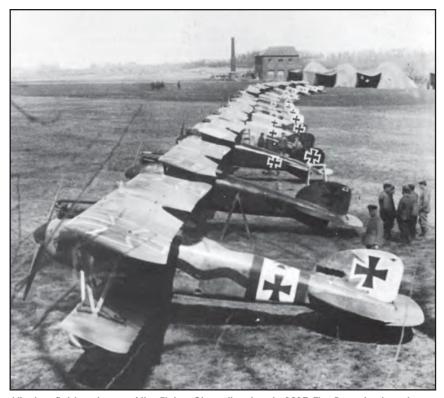
THE RED BARON

Von Richthofen's photo soon graced the covers of newspapers and postcards. Fan mail poured in, much of it from adoring young ladies, for whom he had little time. Raised from an early age in a male-only military environment, the great ace, so fearless in the air, was shy and uncomfortable around women. He reserved his love for another. "The most beautiful creature ever created is my elm-colored Great Dane, my 'little lap dog' — Moritz", he wrote. "He slept in bed with me and was very well trained.... I even took him up with me once.... He behaved very sensibly and eyed the world with interest from above."

Von Richthofen had, however, another, darker devotion. "Early in the war", he wrote, "I found that when I downed an Englishman, my hunting passion was quenched for the time being.... If one fell, I had the feeling of absolute satisfaction."

THE FLYING CIRCUS

Like Boelcke, he recruited the best German pilots to his *Staffel*. Many,



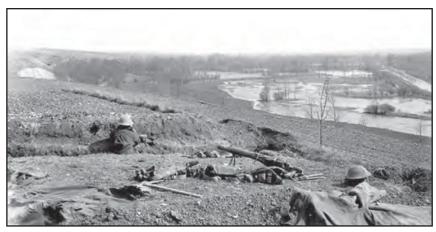
Albatros fighter planes of the Flying Circus lined up in 1917. The Baron's plane is second from the front, its black crosses barely visible against the red overspray. The military censor blotted out the tail serial on the nearest plane. Public domain

like Ernst Udet and Werner Voss, would go on to become high scorers and leaders in their own right. Manfred's young brother, Lothar, in particular, racked up kills at a fierce pace: 20 in four weeks. "If my brother does not get at least one victory on every flight", wrote Manfred, "the whole enterprise is no fun for him."

From January to March 1917,

Jasta 11 pilots scored some 36 kills; in "Bloody April", they claimed 89. Von Richthofen's tally came to 40, matching Boelcke's. By the end of the month, he had 52, including no less than a quadruple kill on the 29th, the same day Lothar got two. "Both brothers had shot down six Englishmen in one day", Manfred wrote. "...I believe the English were unsympathetic toward us."

As Ace of Aces, he was promoted to Rittmeister (Ride Master, captain of horse; technically, he was still a cavalry officer). Kaiser Wilhelm II ordered Jasta 11 to be renamed Jasta Richthofen. Neighboring squadrons adopted their own bright color schemes and joined it in combined aerial operations. In June, Jasta Richthofen was combined with Jastas 4, 6 and 10 as Jagdgeschwader (Fighter Group) 1, with the Red Baron in command. Flying from one hot spot to another up and down the front, with ground personnel and gear



An Australian machine-gun position in the Somme Valley on 17 March 1918, looking east toward German lines. A month after this photo was taken, von Richthofen pursued an enemy plane low over these treetops, turned north, was hit by a single bullet, and crashed to his death atop the high ground at left. Public domain

following by train, living in tents on temporary airfields — and above all for its cacophony of colors — JG 1 became infamous among the Allies as "the Flying Circus". And the ringmaster, in the now all-red Albatros known as le Diable Rouge (the Red Devil), was the invincible von Richthofen.

HERO

At the peak of his success, Manfred took leave to celebrate his 25th birthday. He dined with generals and field marshals of the High Command, breakfasted with the Kaiser, and stalked bison on a royal estate: "I must say, I had hunting fever...in that moment, when the bull came at me...the same fever that grips me when I sit in an airplane, see an



Fokker DR.1 Triplane #425/17, in which the Red Baron was shot down and killed. Shown with the straight-armed Balkenkreuz insignia, which all German aircraft used after March 1918.

Public domain

Englishman, and must fly along for five minutes to come at him."

The fun, however, was interrupted by word that Lothar had downed a British reconnaissance plane, but, like Hawker, been caught too low behind enemy lines. Hit by ground fire, he barely made it back to crash on German ground.

"One should never obstinately stay with an opponent", Manfred knew, "which, through bad shooting or skillful turning, he has been unable to shoot down when the battle lasts until it is far on the other side".

SHOT DOWN

In those deadly skies, the slightest error could prove fatal. In a massive 40-plane dogfight on July 6th, von Richthofen engaged a British plane at extreme range. "I calmly let him fire, for his best marksmanship would not have helped at a distance of over three hundred meters. One just does not score at that distance.... Suddenly, I received a blow to my head! I was hit! For a moment, my whole body was paralyzed.... The machine plunged down.





LEFT: If not for injuries, Manfred's younger brother Lothar (right) might have been an even greater ace. It took Manfred over a year and a half to score 80 victories. Lothar scored 33 of his 40 in just three months. He died in a civilian air crash in July 1922. Public domain RIGHT: Von Richthofen admitted his Great Dane, Moritz, "has a silly peculiarity. He likes to accompany the flying machines at the start.... One day, he rushed in front of a flying-machine which had been started. The aeroplane caught him up and a beautiful propeller was smashed to bits. Moritz howled terribly and a measure which I had hitherto omitted was taken. I had always refused to have his ears cut. One of his ears was cut off by the propeller. A long ear and a short ear do not go well together." Public domain



On his tentative return to the front, the Baron after his head wound, was escorted by nurse Kätie Otersdorf. "Showing up at an aviation facility with a nurse was not at all to his liking," recalled his adjutant. "But he was up against a brick wall. The nurse declared sternly that if the *Rittmeister* should try to make any mischief with his head still not fully healed, she would be there." Von Richthofen holds the *Geschwaderstock*, the walking stick which became his badge of office.

For a moment, it flashed through my mind that this is the way it looks just before death."

He managed to pull out and reach friendly territory. "My thick Richthofen head once again proved itself", he wrote. "The skull was not penetrated."

It was, however, fractured. Recovery was slow. Constant headaches and nausea — and, perhaps, the realization of his own mortality — wrought a change in the ace's personality. "I noticed that I'm not quite right myself", he wrote home after returning to duty. "I have made only two combat flights and both were successful, but after each flight, I was completely exhausted. During the first one, I almost got sick in the stomach."

His autobiography, Der Rote Kampfflieger (The Red Battle Flyer), earned popular and critical acclaim, even in the London Times, but not from its author. "I now have the gravest feeling that people have been exposed to another Richthofen than I really am", he wrote. "I no longer possess such an insolent spirit. It is not because I am afraid, though one day, death may be hard on my heels...although I think enough about it. ...I am in wretched spirits after every aerial battle. But that no doubt is an after effect of my head wound. ... I think of this war as it really is, not as the people at home imagine, with a Hoorah!"

THE TRIPLANE

Though he scored three quarters of his victories in an Albatros, Manfred von Richthofen made the Fokker Dr.I Dreidecker (Triplane), one of the most extreme of all WWI fighters, famous for all time. The type was almost as deadly to its own pilots as the enemy's. Chronic wing failures kept them grounded much of the autumn and winter of 1917-18; by the time they re-entered service, they were already obsolete, but nothing better was ready. When Germany launched its spring offensive in March, the Baron flew triplanes almost exclusively. On Saturday evening, April 20th, he got his 80th victory: a milestone, twice Boelcke's score. The Baron's pilots, his father, generals of the High Command and even the Kaiser had been urging him to take a desk job. "A paper-shuffler?", he said. "No! I am staying at the Front!"

INTO HISTORY

The next morning, Richthofen's patrol attacked a pair of British reconnaissance planes over Le Hamel and was set upon, in turn, by British Sopwith Camels led by Capt. Arthur Roy Brown. In the confusion, Lt. Wilfrid May, on just his third mission, jammed his guns and fled back over the lines. The red triplane dropped onto his tail. "I kept dodging and spinning down until I ran out of sky and had to hedgehop along the ground", May recalled. "Richthofen was firing continually and the only thing that saved me was my poor flying! I didn't know what I was going do and I don't suppose Richthofen could figure this out

Meanwhile, Brown swept down from behind, getting in one burst as he passed. Unstopped, von Richthofen kept up the chase, violating his own law of the skies. That morning, the usual westerly wind was blowing from the east. It carried him — like Hawker, like Lothar — far into enemy territory. From infantry emplacements a thousand yards in all directions, rifle and machinegun fire reached up for the red



After its capture, #425/17 was stripped by souvenir hunters. Today numerous artifacts including the guns and rotary engine, foreground, are in museums. Public domain



Captain Arthur Roy Brown, DSC and bar, of Canadian No. 209 Sqn. RAF. He was officially credited with shooting down Manfred von Richthofen, the "Red Baron." Even more impressive is that he never lost a pilot in his flight during combat. Public domain

triplane. It banked hard toward German lines, but faltered, sank and crash-landed in a beet field. The Baron lived just long enough to tell the first infantryman to arrive, "Alles kaput".

He had taken one bullet through his ribs. That Brown's attack was made, reported and witnessed, and his victim observed to go down, made his a valid claim. The fatal round was, however, likely fired from the ground. By who is contested to this day, but will never be known.

Rittmeister Freiherr Manfred von Richthofen was buried by his enemies with full military honors, including a three-volley salute. Command of JG 1, renamed Jagdgeschwader Richthofen, eventually passed to Lt. Hermann Göring. With just 22 victories at the Armistice, he would rise partly on his fame as the Red Baron's heir. In 1933, on the 15th anniversary of the Rittmeister's death, the future Nazi Reichsmarschall eulogized him simply: "Manfred Freiherr von Richthofen became not only the greatest battle flyer of Germany, but of the world." Hm

FURTHER READING

Von Richthofen and the "Flying Circus", by H.J. Nowarra and Kimbrough S. Brown.

Richthofen: Beyond the Legend of the Red Baron by Peter Kilduff.

Frequent contributor DON **HOLLWAY** wrote about the Revolutionary War Sullivan Campaign in our last issue. His article about WWI spy Mata Hari will appear in our next issue. For more text, images and video, see donhollway.com/redbaron.



Here's what's coming...

Truman Assassination Attempt ● Uncle Sam

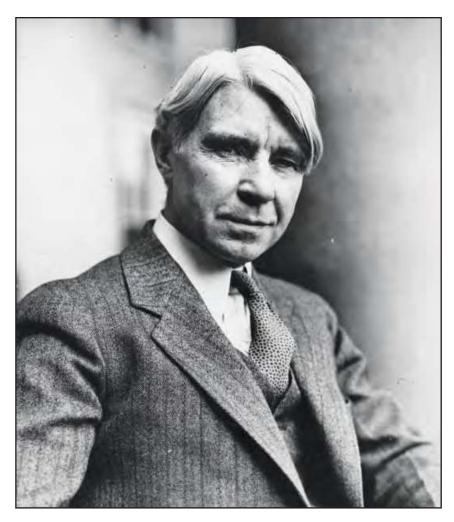
Dora DuFran • Freud & Egypt

B24: The Liberator • Battle of Morgarten

Mata Hari • Cromwell Dixon • Admiral Byrd Magna Carta

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DESTINATION: "A POET'S HUMBLE ROOTS"

BRIAN D'AMBROSIO LOOKS AT THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CARL SANDBURG

Photos: Courtesy Carl Sandburg Historic Site of Illinois and DePaul University

"Time is the coin of your life. It is the only coin you have, and only you can determine how it will be spent. Be careful lest you let other people spend it for you." – Carl Sandburg

Perhaps what's most impressive about Carl Sandburg (1878-1967) is that he distinguished himself in five fields — poetry, history, biography, fiction, and music.

Author, poet, writer, political organizer, historian, folklorist Carl Sandburg was born in a three-room cottage at 313 East Third Street, Galesburg, Illinois on 6 January 1878. The modest dwelling, maintained by the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, reflects the typical living conditions of a late nineteenth century, working-class, American family. Many of the furnishings once belonged to the Sandburg family.

Carl August Sandburg was the son of Swedish immigrants named August and Clara Mathilda Anderson Sandburg. Carl, called "Charlie" by the family, was born the second of seven children in 1878. August, a blacksmith's assistant for the nearby Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, purchased the cottage in 1878. A year later, the Sandburgs sold the small cottage in favor of a larger house in Galesburg.

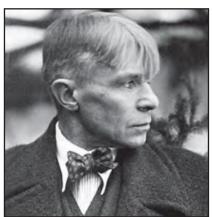
From his earliest recollections, Sandburg said he enjoyed to read, deciding at age six that he wanted to be a writer. Spry and eager, he worked from the time he was a young boy. He quit school following his graduation from eighth grade in 1891, and spent a decade working a variety of jobs. He delivered milk, harvested ice, laid bricks, threshed wheat in Kansas, and shined shoes in Galesburg's Union Hotel, before traveling as a hobo in 1897. As a hobo, he learned a number of folk songs, which he later performed at speaking engagements.

Sandburg traveled extensively through the rugged interior of the American West, where he began developing a love of the nation and its people. Brought up in a largely Republican household, Sandburg's political inclinations

were influenced by events such as the local railway workers' strikes and the Chicago Haymarket riots of 1886. Protests, riots and political tumult sparked his interest in social justice. His experiences working and traveling greatly influenced his writing and political views. He saw firsthand the sharp contrast between rich and poor, a dichotomy that instilled in him a distrust of capitalism.

When the Spanish-American War broke out in 1898, Sandburg volunteered for service, and at the age of twenty, was ordered to Puerto Rico, where he spent days battling only heat and mosquitoes. Following eight months of service in the army, he entered Lombard (now Knox) College, in Galesburg, supporting himself as a firefighter.

Sandburg's college years shaped his literary talents and political views. While at Lombard, Sandburg joined the Poor Writers' Club, an informal literary organization whose members met to read and criticize poetry. Poor Writers' founder, Lombard professor Phillip Green Wright, a



Carl Sandburg's account of the life of Abraham Lincoln is one of the epic works of the 20th century. One installment, Abraham Lincoln: The War Years, surpasses in length the collected writings of Shakespeare by more than 150,000 words. Sandburg was the first private citizen to deliver an address before a joint session of Congress, which he did on 12 February 1959, the 150th anniversary of Lincoln's birth.

political liberal, encouraged the talented young Sandburg. Wright privately published several volumes of Sandburg's poems and essays.

Sandburg strengthened writing skills and co-opted the socialist views of his mentor before leaving school in his senior year. Sandburg sold stereoscope views and wrote poetry for two years before his first book of verse, In Reckless Ecstasy, was printed on Wright's basement press in 1904. Wright printed two more volumes for Sandburg, Incidentals (1907) and The Plaint of a Rose (1908). As the first decade of the twentieth century pressed on, Sandburg increasingly wrote of his concern with the plight of the American worker.

He moved to Chicago at age 28, holding a series of newspaper and magazine jobs, including associate editor of To-Morrow Magazine. After becoming involved with the Social-Democratic movement, he left Lombard (without graduating) for Milwaukee to work as their district party state organizer for Wisconsin. Between writing and distributing political pamphlets, he lectured on Walt Whitman and sold stereoscopes to supplement his income. In December 1907, Sandburg met fellow social activist Lilian Steichen, a schoolteacher, at the Milwaukee headquarters of the Social Democrats. They began writing to one another, and in March 1908, visited Lilian's parents at their farm, where they decided to marry. The ceremony was held on 15 June 1908. Lilian saw great value in her husband's work, and from their rented room in Appleton, Wisconsin, she relentlessly submitted Carl's poetry to unsympathetic publishers.

Sandburg continued his work for the Social Democrats, but following the disappointing elections of 1908, he returned to his lecture bookings and stereoscopic sales. Throughout 1909, he lectured on political issues and held another series of writing jobs in Milwaukee. He returned to the Social-Democratic party in an effort to elect Emil Seidel mayor of Milwaukee. When Seidel was elected the nation's first Socialist mayor, he quickly appointed Sandburg as his private secretary. In November 1910, his resigned this position to become city editor of the Social-Democratic Herald.

In 1912, he returned to Chicago and for several years, he worked as a reporter for the Chicago Daily News, covering mostly labor issues and later writing his own regular column.

Sandburg was virtually unknown to the literary world when, in 1914, a group of his poems appeared in the nationally circulated Poetry magazine. Two years later, his book, Chicago Poems, was published, and the thirty-eightyear-old author found himself on the brink of a career that would bring him international acclaim.

Sandburg published another volume of poems, Cornhuskers, in 1918, and wrote a searching analysis of the 1919 Chicago race riots.

More poetry followed, including a book of fanciful children's tales, which prompted Sandburg's publisher, Alfred Harcourt, to suggest a biography of Abraham Lincoln for children. Sandburg researched and wrote for three years, producing not a children's



Carl Sandburg State Historic Site is the birthplace and boyhood home of Sandburg in Galesburg, Illinois. It is operated by the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency.

book, but a two-volume biography for adults.

From 1926 to 1939, Sandburg devoted himself mainly to writing the six-volume biography of President Abraham Lincoln, presenting Lincoln as a symbol of American gallantry and gustiness. He also collected the folk songs that made up *The American Songbag* (1927). His *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*, published in

1926, was Sandburg's first financial success. He moved to a new home on the Michigan dunes and devoted the next several years to completing four additional volumes, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years*, for which he won the Pulitzer Prize in 1940.

In 1945, the Sandburgs moved with their herd of prize-winning goats and thousands of books to Flat Rock, North Carolina. Sandburg's *Complete Poems* won him a second Pulitzer Prize in 1951. In 1963, in his eighties, mellow, wise and sympathetic, he published *Honey and Salt*, which some admirers feel contains much of Sandburg's purest, most poignant poetry. Sandburg also collected folk songs and toured the country, singing his favorites.

He spent his final years as a great cultural celebrity, singing

folk songs, speaking graciously to interviewers, and reciting poetry in public. Sandburg died in Flat Rock, North Carolina on 22 July 1967.

His ashes were returned, as he had requested, to his Galesburg birthplace. In the small Carl Sandburg Park behind the house, his ashes were placed beneath Remembrance Rock, a red granite boulder. Ten years later, the ashes of his wife were placed there.

BRIAN D'AMBROSIO lives and works in, and writes from, Missoula, Montana. He contributes regularly to multiple publications on a vast variety of subjects. His most recent contribution to History Magazine was a piece on Taylor Gordon: Harlem Renaissance, which appeared in the Aug/Sept 2015 issue.



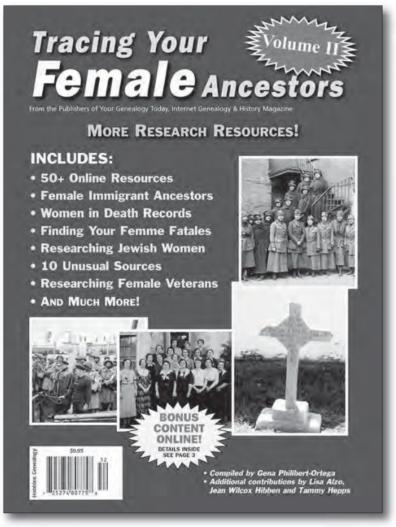
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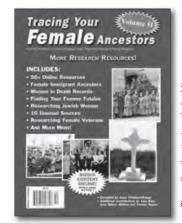
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GUINEA GOLD: BY AIR, LAND AND SEA

JAMES BREIG LOOKS AT HOW SOLDIERS FROM TWO CONTINENTS MINED GUINEA GOLD FOR NEWS

he front-page headline on the 15 August 1945 issue of a unique wartime newspaper consisted of only two words, printed in all-capital letters that rose two inches: IT'S OVER. Two more words, only slightly smaller, formed the subhead: UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER. Together, they occupied nearly 30 percent of the page's space.

Awaiting demobilization at the end of World War II, an Australian soldier reads a copy of *Guinea Gold*.

Australian War Memorial; photo by Ronald Walter Berg

As they read those four words, thousands of Australian and US servicemen serving on New Guinea breathed a sigh of relief. The Empire of Japan had given up; World War II was over. The medium delivering the good news was *Guinea Gold*, a daily that brought world news, sports data, light articles and even a beauty contest to those who had battled for freedom, many of them half a world away from their homes.

From 19 November 1942 to 30 June 1946, *Guinea Gold* kept the members of two continents' military up-to-date. The four-page daily, which would tally more than 1,300 issues, was conceived by two Aussies: Reg Leonard, a war correspondent for a Melbourne paper, and Lt. Col. George Fenton, who was in charge of wrangling the newsmen on the world's second-largest island.

Years later, one of the newspaper's staffers, Paul Jefferson Wallace, wrote a booklet to preserve the history of *Guinea Gold*, which, he said, "brought to the news-hungry men...serving in the steaming jungle topics of interest to allay their boredom and boost their morale." When Leonard next proposed the idea of the daily to Australian Gen. Thomas Blamey, the latter turned the journalist into a major who was assigned to "do the bloody thing."

Wallace said that Blamey, commander of Allied Land Forces in the South West Pacific Area, insisted that the journal "present factual news without comment... He was resolved that the Army newspaper should contain no editorial comment." The general affirmed that "it is contrary to my

policy to use an Army newspaper for propaganda of any kind." He made that comment in a letter to another key booster of the newspaper – Gen. Douglas MacArthur, supreme commander of US forces in the Southwest Pacific.

Fleeing the Philippines after the Japanese had seized that island early in the war, MacArthur ended up in New Guinea. From there, he directed a series of military moves that would eventually lead to Japan's surrender. Early on, he endorsed the idea of Guinea Golds being sent to American as well as Australian troops, making the newspaper the only journal during the war to inform soldiers who were serving two nations.

"News information on current events," MacArthur declared, is "the very breath of modern existence. To the combat soldier, [newspapers] are as necessary as bread and bullets."

He went a step further by ensuring that Guinea Gold got scoops on breaking news 20 hours before other media were updated.

Each day's ration of Guinea



General Douglas MacArthur US Army

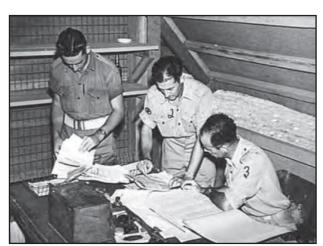
Gold was delivered throughout New Guinea, with circulation soaring as more and more units arrived from across the Pacific and from Australia. At its peak, as many as 64,000 copies were printed seven days a week and delivered to outposts by mail, jeeps, trucks and airplanes. When Italy surrendered to the Allies in 1943, for example, the Associated Press wrote that "planes, radio and telephones were used in getting the news... to the fighting men of New Guinea... Copies of Guinea Gold...were dropped over the battle fronts from planes, after

Army trucks had rushed the papers to various airfields." Because the free paper was passed from hand to hand, a guesstimate placed its actual daily readership at 800,000.

In its first issue, the editors of the daily let readers know that they understood that "troops have come to realize that reliable news is an important item in any army's mental diet....[Our] aim will be to present news concisely, accurately, without bias." Recognizing that the four-page Guinea Gold had "rigid space limitations," the editors promised that "within these limits" would be "as complete coverage of day-to-day news as possible." Only rarely did the newspaper add to its daily allotment of four pages, each about the size of a typewriter sheet.

In his account of the paper, outlined how contents of Guinea Gold were apportioned: "The front and back pages concentrated on up-to-theminute news from around the world, including coverage of major sporting events on the back page. Page 2 was devoted to extracts from Australian and US newspapers published a few days previously, which air transport crews delivered to Guinea Gold."

The war news was ballyhooed in





LEFT: Staff members check out Guinea Gold. Over the course of the war, hundreds of Australians and New Guineans worked on the newspaper. Australian War Memorial RIGHT: A corporal from New York takes copies of Guinea Gold from a native New Guinean. The paper was distributed by air, land and sea. Australian War Memorial; photo by Norman Brown

such banner headlines as "Allied Offensive in Sicily Develops Favorably", "Rabaul Raid Lasts Three Hours", "Pulverising Air Offensive Takes In Pomerania, E. Prussia & Poland" and "250,000 Nazis Falling Back to East Prussia, Moscow Claims". But there was also room for lesser items: singer Al Jolson was hospitalized for malaria and pneumonia after a USO tour of North Africa, for example, and Salvo, a fox terrier, had become the world's first "parapup" after making a parachute jump of 1,500 feet in Cleveland and landing safely on all fours. The paper also took potshots aimed at lessening the enemy's image with such stories as "Fuhrer Has New Girl Friend" and "Captured Nazi General Calls Hitler 'Imbecile'".

Examples of the range of news in a single issue can be found in a *Guinea Gold* issue from 70 years ago. Dated 14 December 1944, page one contained these headlines:

- Americans punch through Maginot Line: Near Karlsruhe.
- Four more Jap transports, three destroyers sunk
- Imperial palace at Tokyo bombed

On page two, soldiers were informed that:

- National Manufacturers
 Association brand cartels as 'peace disturbing'
- Women stage riot at grocery store
- Hollywood troupe feud finished

The third page led with "Plans for final drive on Japan drawn up; each united nation allotted task". But the same page also included "Scientists claim telepathy proof" and "RAF flies bananas 3,000 miles for sick child".



At the end of 1943, Time magazine wrote that *Guinea Gold* "never ran pin-ups", an assessment that was almost correct. A photo of a woman in a bathing suit had appeared in the 20 February issue that year, for example, while a come-hither portrait of actress Dorothy Lamour was published a month after the Time article.

However, the military newspaper more often carried pictures of women that showed them contributing to the winning of World War II. Here are some examples:

- A woman in uniform with a caption explaining that she was among 300 members of the Australian Army Medical Women's Service who had arrived in New Guinea to serve in hospitals
- Dorothy Tangney, who was the first woman elected to the Australian Senate
- Eve Curie, daughter of Madame Curie, who had fled France to serve in the resistance effort
- A teenaged Princess Elizabeth (now Queen Elizabeth) in a military uniform with a caption noting that some people hoped she would be named Princess of Wales by the king
- A former ballet dancer, sporting a parachute, who had become the first woman to fly with RAF bomber pilots as they tested equipment

Perhaps the most touching photo was captioned "Tiny Sufferer", which ran in the Guinea Gold issue of 7 September 1944. The picture showed a crying child who had just been pulled from her London home after a German bomb had leveled it. The girl has her arms wrapped around her rescuer: a female air raid warden in her uniform and helmet.

The back page almost screamed the news that "Red Army fighting in outskirts of Budapest: City Blazing", while whispering "Film actor dead", referring to literal and figurative heavy Laird Cregar. Such juxtaposition was common for the journal. Additionally, taking advantage of every square inch of the newsprint, many issues featured one-liners atop the front page to remind troops of steps they could take to win the war. "Join in a blitz on general waste," read one, while others "Maintain maximum urged, malaria precautions" and "Keep all fires under control."

Recognizing that soldiers needed distraction as well as information, Wallace recalled that "the newspaper promoted a 'Girl I Left Behind' contest, [and] 1,700 photos of wives, sweethearts and baby daughters swamped the editorial office."



A posed publicity photo sends the message that the newspaper was circulated by all methods possible. Australian War Memorial

Judges were recruited to examine the hundreds of entries and select a winner from each of the two nations that had dispatched servicemen to New Guinea's jungles, mountains and coasts.

Reaction to the newspaper from Aussies and G.I.s was positive, if only because they had few alternatives, such as miniaturized front pages from hometown papers and clippings mailed by relatives, both arriving weeks after they had first appeared. One soldier, in a V-mail to his mother in Virginia, referred to Guinea Gold as "our one and only newspaper". Without it, he complained, "we have nothing at all to read."

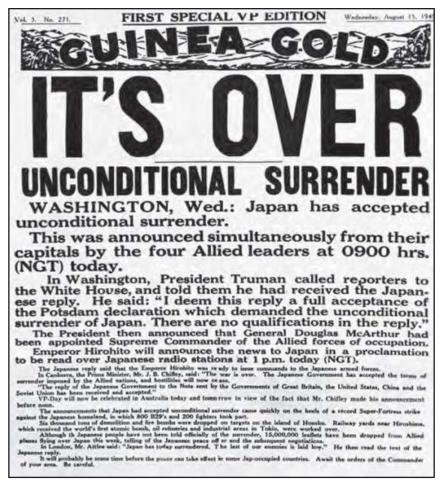
Another soldier, Lowell Read, wrote to his girl back home to say, "We get a small newspaper called the 'Guinea Gold' [that] gives a lot of late news." Joseph Michaelonis, a New Hampshire resident, told his relatives, "Smokes are hard to get, and reading material is also hard to get. We have a little newspaper called The Guinea Gold which keeps us informed of the world events."

The readership ranged from men in the foxholes to the Army's highest-ranking officer. "I just finished reading Guinea Gold (newspaper)," Airman Lyle Young wrote his wife in Minnesota at the end of 1943. "The news looks Simultaneously, encouraging." Time magazine reported that MacArthur got his copy "every morning with his coffee. He and...other readers in the New Guinea battle area think Guinea Gold is the greatest army newspaper in the world....It is rarely illustrated, never runs 'pin-ups.' Its readers, polled several months





LEFT: A private looks over the winners of the "Girl I Left Behind" contest held by Guinea Gold. Australian War Memorial; photo by Jack Band RIGHT: Staff members set type for Guinea Gold in 1944. Australian War Memorial



The front page of *Guinea Gold* announces the end of World War II with two words. *Australian War Memorial*

ago, voted for war news first, political news from home second, educational features third." The paper, Time continued, "is packed, seven days a week, with more than 100 solid news nuggets."

Additional proof of the popularity of the paper was to be found in how many soldiers sent copies home so that their loved ones could share their reading material. In 1942, for example, Sgt. Rudolph Mohler, an Ohioan, mailed his parents a copy with a vow that "you can expect bigger and better news" of how the US forces were battling the enemy. An Iowa corporal dispatched an issue home in 1943, along with a tiny piece of a Japanese Zero. A 1944 human-interest story in The Chicago Tribune recounted how a lieutenant screamed when

he awoke to find a python in bed with him. With tongue in cheek, the article added that American forces "were comforted recently by a cheery article in 'Guinea Gold', a military newspaper, explaining that pythons in New Guinea grow to lengths of 20 feet."

As the newspaper followed troops in their westward march to expel the Japanese from the island, *Guinea Gold* became a target for enemy planes and earned the informal nickname of "the world's most bombed newspaper". Wallace recalled that "on moonlight nights in the early days, '*Guinea Gold*' was often interrupted by air raids." Nevertheless, he added, "deadlines were still met," thanks in part to the "selfless and untiring service" supplied by New Guinea natives.

Leonard noted that some staff members "intercepted radio news by matchlight during the bombing raids."

When the electricity went out, he added, "brawny arms provided power for the presses."

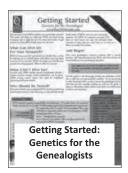
Besides being the most-bombed newspaper, Guinea Gold also became perhaps the war's most seatof-the-pants newspaper because the staff often had to ad-lib. At times, for example, a shortage of type led to some being handmade by a New Guinean who carved T's out of wood, while the editor fashioned R's by adding tails to P's. He got the tails by clipping L's. The hue of the paper on which the daily was printed varied according to what was available. Surviving copies may be brown from age or from their original tan color. Equipment was begged, borrowed and maybe even stolen. One time, compliant sailors from a US ship contributed some needed items; it is not known if their captain was aware of the transfer of machine parts from one ally to another.

The most telling example of the paper's make-do spirit occurred at a key moment. When Japan surrendered and the editor needed a huge headline to trumpet the end of the war, an Australian sergeant shaped the celebratory words from a handy chunk of linoleum, \mathcal{H}_m

JAMES BREIG's most recent book is Star-Spangled Baseball: True Tales of Flags and Fields. He is also the author of a nonfiction book about WWII, Searching for Sgt. Bailey: Saluting an Ordinary Soldier of World War II.

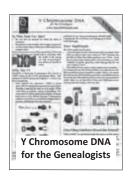
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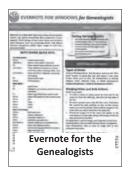


















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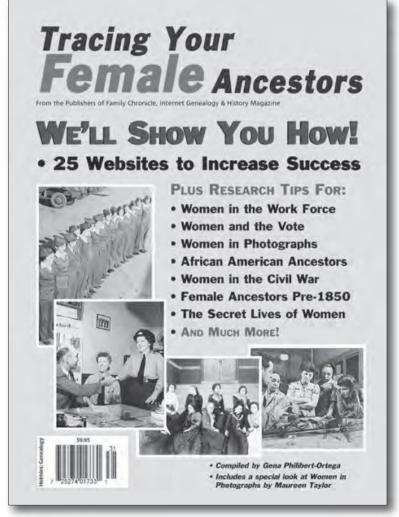
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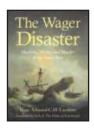
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by Rear Admiral C.H. Layman



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CURSED VICTORY

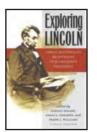
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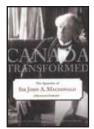
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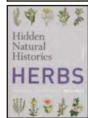


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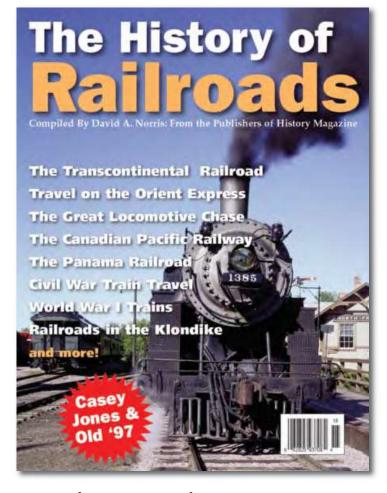
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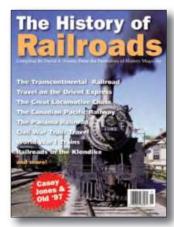
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